
AN
ESSAY
ON THE
LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE.

THE S. A. Y.

ON THE

TEACHING OF SHAKESPEARE.

H. Smith Man. Coll. Camb. 1774

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AN
E S S A Y
ON THE
LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE:

ADDRESSED TO
JOSEPH CRADOCK, Esq;
THE SECOND EDITION,
WITH
LARGE ADDITIONS.

BY
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AND OF
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CAMBRIDGE:

Printed by J. ARCHDEACON, Printer to the UNIVERSITY,
For J. WOODYER, in *Cambridge*; and Sold by J. BEE-
CROFT, in Pater-noster-Row; J. DODSLEY, in Pall-
Mall; T. CADELL, in the Strand; and M. HINGES-
TON, near Temple Bar, *London*.

M.DCC.LXVII.



CAMBRIDGE:
Printed by J. Sturges, Printer to the University,
for J. Sturges, in Cambridge; and sold by B. B.
Dent, in Pall-mall; J. Dodsley, in Pall-
mall; T. Cadogan, in the Strand; and M. H. Moore,
at the Temple Bar, London.
MDCCLXXII.

P R E F A C E
T O T H E
S E C O N D E D I T I O N .

THE AUTHOR of the following ESSAY was solicitous only for the honour of *Shakespeare*: he hath however, in *his own* capacity, little reason to complain of *occasional* Criticks, or Criticks *by profession*. The very FEW, who have been pleased to controvert any part of his Doctrine, have favoured him with better manners, than arguments; and claim his thanks for a further opportunity of demonstrating the futility of *Theoretick* reasoning against *Matter of Fact*. It is indeed strange, that any *real* Friends of our immortal POET should be still willing to force him into a situation, which is not tenable: treat him as a *learned* Man, and what shall excuse the most gross violations of History, Chronology, and Geography?

Οὐδ' αἰσείεις, ὅδ' ἢν αἰσείης is the Motto of every *Polemick*: like his Brethren at the *Amphitheatre*, he holds it a merit to *die hard*; and will not say, *Enough*, though the Battle be decided. "Were it shewn, says some one, that the old Bard borrowed *all* his allusions from *English* books then published, our *Essayist* might have possibly established his System."

— In

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— In good time ! — This had scarcely been attempted by *Peter Burman* himself, with the Library of *Shakespeare* before him. — “ Truly, as Mr. *Dogberry* says, for *mine own* part, if I were as tedious as a King, I could find in my heart to bestow it all on this Subject : ” but where should I meet with a Reader ? — When the main Pillars are taken away, the whole Building falls in course : Nothing hath been, or can be, pointed out, which is not easily removed ; or rather, which was not *virtually* removed before : a very little *Analogy* will do the business. I shall therefore have no occasion to trouble myself any further ; and may venture to call my Pamphlet, in the words of a pleasant Declaimer against *Sermons on the thirtieth of January*, “ an Answer to every thing that shall hereafter be written on the Subject.”

But “ this method of reasoning will prove any one ignorant of the Languages, who hath written when Translations were extant.” — *Shade of Burgerfidi-
cius !* — does it follow, because *Shakespeare's* early life was incompatible with a course of Education — whose Contemporaries, Friends and Foes, nay, and himself likewise, agree in his want of what is usually called *Literature* — whose mistakes from equivocal Translations, and even typographical Errors, cannot possibly be accounted for otherwise, — that *Locke*, to whom not one of these circumstances is applicable, understood no *Greek* ? — I suspect, *Rollin's* Opinion of our Philosopher was not founded on this argument.

Shakespeare wanted not the Stilts of Languages to raise him above all other men. The quotation from *Lilly* in the *Taming of the Shrew*, if indeed it be his, strongly proves the extent of his reading : had he known *Terence*, he would not have quoted erroneously
from

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from his *Grammar*. Every one hath met with men in common life, who, according to the language of the *Water-poet*, “got only from *Poffum* to *Poffet*,” and yet will throw out a line occasionally from their *Accidence* or their *Cato de Moribus* with tolerable propriety. — If, however, the old Editions be trusted in this passage, our Author’s memory somewhat failed him in point of *Concord*.

The rage of *Parallelisms* is almost over, and in truth nothing can be more absurd, “THIS was stolen from *one* *Classick*, — THAT from *another* ;” — and had I not stept in to his rescue, poor *Shakespeare* had been stript as naked of ornament, as when he first held *Horses* at the door of the Playhouse.

The late ingenious and modest Mr. *Dodfley* declared himself

“Untutor’d in the lore of *Greece* or *Rome* :”

Yet let us take a passage at a venture from any of his performances, and a thousand to one, it is stolen. Suppose it be his celebrated Compliment to the *Ladies*, in one of his earliest pieces, *The Toy-shop* : “A good Wife makes the cares of the World sit easy, and adds a sweetness to its pleasures ; she is a Man’s best Companion in Prosperity, and his only Friend in Adversity ; the carefullest preserver of his Health, and the kindest Attendant in his Sickness ; a faithful Adviser in Distress, a Comforter in Affliction, and a prudent Manager in all his domestic Affairs.” — Plainly, from a fragment of *Euripides* preserved by *Stobæus*.

“Γυνὴ γὰρ ἐν κακοῖσι καὶ νόσοις πόσει
Ἡδιστὸν ἐστὶ, δάματ’ ἢν οἰκῇ καλῶς,
Ὅργην τε πρᾶτ’ ἀνύσσει, καὶ θυμὸν ἰατρῆς
Ψυχὴν μεθιστᾷ.” — *Par.* 4to. 1623.

Malvolio

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Malvolio in the *Twelfth-Night* of *Shakespeare* hath some expressions very similar to *Alnaschar* in the *Arabian Tales*: which perhaps may be sufficient for some Criticks to prove his acquaintance with *Arabic*!

It seems however, at last, that “*Tasse* should determine the matter.” This, as *Bardolph* expresses it, is a word of exceeding good command: but I am willing, that the Standard itself be somewhat better ascertained before it be opposed to demonstrative Evidence. — Upon the whole, I may consider myself, as the *Pioneer* of the *Commentators*: I have removed a deal of learned Rubbish, and pointed out to them *Shakespeare’s* track in the ever-pleasing *Paths of Nature*. This was necessarily a previous Inquiry; and I hope I may assume with some confidence, what one of the first Criticks of the Age was pleased to declare on reading the former Edition, that “The Question is now for ever decided.”

*** I may just remark, lest they be mistaken for *Errata*, that the word *Catherine* in the 47th page is written, according to the old Orthography, for *Catharine*; and that the passage in the 51st page is copied from *Upton*, who improperly calls *Horatio* and *Marcellus* in *Hamlet*, “the Centinels.”

In p. 23. l. 23. for *had probably* read *might have* &c.

AN
ESSAY
ON THE
LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE:
ADDRESSED TO
JOSEPH CRADOCK, Esq;

“SHAKESPEARE, says a Brother of the *Craft*,^a is a vast garden of criticism:” and certainly no one can be favoured with more weeders *gratis*.

But how often, my dear Sir, are weeds and flowers torn up indiscriminately?—the ravaged spot is re-planted in a moment, and a profusion of critical thorns thrown over it for security.

“A prudent man therefore would not venture his fingers amongst them.”

^a Mr. *Seward* in his Preface to *Beaumont and Fletcher*, 10 Vol. 8vo. 1750.

Be however in little pain for your friend, who regards himself sufficiently to be cautious :—yet he asserts with confidence, that no improvement can be expected, whilst the natural soil is mistaken for a hot-bed, and the Natives of the banks of *Avon* are scientifically choked with the culture of exoticks.

Thus much for metaphor ; it is contrary to the *Statute* to fly out so early : but who can tell, whether it may not be demonstrated by some critick or other, that a deviation from rule is peculiarly happy in an Essay of *Shakespeare* !

You have long known my opinion concerning the literary acquisitions of our immortal Dramatist ; and remember how I congratulated myself on my coincidence with the last and best of his Editors. I told you however, that his *small Latin and less Greek*^b would still be litigated, and you see very assuredly that I was not mistaken. The trumpet hath been sounded against “ the darling project of representing *Shakespeare* as one of the illiterate vulgar ; ” and indeed to so good purpose, that I would by all means recommend the performer to the army of

^b This passage of *Ben. Jonson*, so often quoted, is given us in the admirable preface to the late Edition, with a various reading, “ *small Latin and no Greek*,” which hath been held up to the Publick for a modern sophistication : yet whether an error or not, it was adopted above a Century ago by *W. Towers* in a Panegyrick on *Cartwright*. His Eulogy, with more than fifty others, on this now forgotten Poet, was prefixed to the Edit. 1651.

the *braying Faction*, recorded by *Cervantes*. The testimony of his contemporaries is again disputed; constant tradition is opposed by flimsy arguments; and nothing is heard, but confusion and nonsense. One could scarcely imagine this a topick very likely to inflame the passions: it is asserted by *Dryden*, that "those who accuse him to have wanted learning, give him the greatest commendation;" yet an attack upon an article of faith hath been usually received with more temper and complacence, than the unfortunate opinion, which I am about to defend.

But let us previously lament with every lover of *Shakespeare*, that the Question was not fully discussed by Mr. *Johnson* himself: what he sees intuitively, others must arrive at by a series of proofs; and I have not time to *teach* with precision: be contented therefore with a few cursory observations, as they may happen to arise from the Chaos of Papers, you have so often laughed at, "a stock sufficient to set up an *Editor in form*." I am convinced of the strength of my cause, and superior to any little advantage from sophistical arrangements.

General positions without proofs will probably have no great weight on either side, yet it may not seem fair to suppress them: take them therefore as their authors occur to me, and we will afterward proceed to particulars.

The testimony of *Ben.* stands foremost; and

some have held it sufficient to decide the controversy : in the warmest Panegyrick, that ever was written, he apologizes^c for what *he* supposed the only defect in his “ beloved friend,——

————— Soul of the age !

Th’ applause ! delight ! the wonder of our stage ! —
 whose memory he honoured almost to idolatry :”
 and conscious of the worth of ancient literature, like any other man on the same occasion, he rather carries his acquirements *above*, than *below* the truth.
 “ Jealousy ! cries Mr. *Upton* ; People will allow others any qualities, but those upon which they highly value *themselves*.” Yes, where there is a competition, and the competitor formidable : but, I think, this Critick himself hath scarcely set in opposition the learning of *Shakespeare* and *Jonson*. When a superiority is universally granted, it by no means appears a man’s literary interest to depress the reputation of his Antagonist.

In truth the received opinion of the pride and malignity of *Jonson*, at least in the earlier part of life, is absolutely groundless : at this time scarce a play or a poem appeared without *Ben’s* encomium, from the original *Shakespeare* to the translator of *Du Bartas*.

But *Jonson* is by no means our only authority.

^c “ *Though thou hadst small Latin, &c.*”

Drayton

Drayton the countryman and acquaintance of *Shakespeare*, determines his excellence to the *naturall Braine*^d only. *Digges*, a wit of the town before our Poet left the stage, is very strong to the purpose,

— “Nature only helpt him, for looke thorow
This whole book, thou shalt find he doth not borrow
One phraze from Greekes, not Latines imitate,
Nor once from vulgar Languages translate.”^e

Suckling opposes his *easier strain* to the *sweat of learned Jonson*. *Denham* assures us, that all he had was from *old Mother-wit*. His *native wood-notes wild*, every one remembers to be celebrated by *Milton*. *Dryden* observes prettily enough, that “he wanted not the spectacles of books to read Nature.” He came out of her hand, as some one else expresses it, like *Pallas* out of *Jove’s* head, at full growth and mature.

The ever memorable *Hales* of *Eton*, (who, notwithstanding his Epithet, is, I fear, almost forgotten,) had too great a knowledge both of *Shakespeare* and the

^d In his Elegie on Poets and Poefie. p. 206. Fol. 1627.

^e From his Poem “upon Master *William Shakespeare*,” intended to have been prefixed, with the other of his composition, to the Folio of 1623; and afterward printed in several miscellaneous Collections: particularly the spurious Edition of *Shakespeare’s* Poems, 1640. Some account of him may be met with in *Wood’s Athenæ*.

Ancients to allow much acquaintance between them : and urged very justly on the part of Genius in opposition to Pedantry, That “if he had not *read* the *Classicks*, he had likewise not *stolen* from them; and if any Topick was produced from a Poet of antiquity he would undertake to show somewhat on the same subject, at least as well written by *Shakespeare*.”

Fuller, a diligent and equal searcher after truth and quibbles, declares positively, that “his learning was very little, — *Nature* was all the *Art* used upon him, as *he himself*, if alive, would confess.” And may we not say, he did confess it, when he apologized for his *untutored lines* to his noble patron the Earl of *Southampton*? — this list of witnesses might be easily enlarged; but I flatter myself, I shall stand in no need of such evidence.

One of the first and most vehement assertors of the learning of *Shakespeare*, was the Editor of his Poems, the well-known Mr. *Gildon*; ^f and his steps

^f Hence perhaps the *ill-star'd* rage between this Critick and his elder Brother, *John Dennis*, so pathetically lamented in the *Dunciad*. Whilst the former was persuaded, that “the man who doubts of the Learning of *Shakespeare*, hath none of his own:” the latter, above regarding the attack in his *private* capacity, declares with great patriotic vehemence, that “he who allows *Shakespeare* had Learning, and a familiar acquaintance with the Ancients, ought to be looked upon as a detractor from the Glory of *Great Britain*.” *Dennis* was expelled his College for attempting to stab a man in the dark: *Pope* would have been glad of this anecdote.

were

were most punctually taken by a subsequent labourer in the same department, Dr. Sewel.

Mr. Pope supposed "little ground for the common opinion of his want of learning:" once indeed he made a proper distinction between *learning* and *languages*, as I would be understood to do in my Title-page; but unfortunately he forgot it in the course of his disquisition, and endeavoured to persuade himself that *Shakespeare's* acquaintance with the Ancients might be actually proved by the same medium as *Jonson's*.

Mr. Theobald is "very unwilling to allow him so poor a scholar, as many have laboured to represent him;" and yet is "cautious of declaring too positively on the other side the question."

Dr. Warburton hath exposed the weakness of some arguments from *suspected* imitations; and yet offers others, which, I doubt not, he could as easily have refuted.

Mr. Upton wonders "with what kind of reasoning any one could be so far imposed upon, as to imagine that *Shakespeare* had no learning;" and lashes with much zeal and satisfaction "the pride and pertness of dunces, who under such a name would gladly shelter their own idleness and ignorance."

He, like the learned Knight, at every anomaly in grammar or metre,

"Hath hard words ready to shew why,
And tell what *Rule* he did it by."

How

How would the old Bard have been astonished to have found, that he had very skilfully given the *trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic*, COMMONLY called the *ithyphallic* measure, to the Witches in *Macbeth*! and that now and then a halting Verse afforded a most beautiful instance of the *Pes proceleusmaticus*!

“But, continues Mr. *Upton*, it was a learned age; *Roger Ascham* assures us, that Queen *Elizabeth* read more *Greek* every day, than some *Dignitaries* of the Church did *Latin* in a whole week.” This appears very probable; and a pleasant proof it is of the general learning of the times, and of *Shakespeare* in particular. I wonder, he did not corroborate it with an extract from her injunctions to her Clergy, that “such as were but *mean Readers* should peruse over before, once or twice, the Chapters and Homilies, to the intent they might read to the better understanding of the people.”

Dr. Grey declares, that *Shakespeare's* knowledge in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues cannot reasonably be called in question. *Dr. Dodd* supposes it proved, that he was not such a novice in learning and antiquity as *some people* would pretend. And to close the whole, for I suspect you to be tired of quotation, Mr. *Whalley*, the ingenious Editor of *Jonson*, hath written a piece expressly on this side the question: perhaps from a very excusable partiality, he was willing to draw

Shake-

Shakespeare from the field of Nature to classick ground, where alone, he knew, his Author could possibly cope with him.

These criticks, and many others their coadjutors, have supposed themselves able to trace *Shakespeare* in the writings of the Ancients; and have sometimes persuaded us of their own learning, whatever became of their Author's. Plagiarisms have been discovered in every natural description and every moral sentiment. Indeed by the kind assistance of the various *Excerpta*, *Sententia*, and *Flores*, this business may be effected with very little expense of time or sagacity; as *Addison* hath demonstrated in his Comment on *Chevy-chace*, and *Wagstaff* on *Tom Thumb*: and I myself will engage to give you quotations from the elder *English* writers (for to own the truth, I was once idle enough to collect such) which shall carry with them at least an equal degree of similarity. But there can be no occasion of wasting any future time in this department: the world is now in possession of the *Marks of Imitation*.

“*Shakespeare* however hath frequent allusions to the *facts* and *fables* of antiquity.” Granted:—and as *Mat. Prior* says, to save the effusion of more Christian ink, I will endeavour to shew, how they came to his acquaintance.

It is notorious, that much of his *matter of fact*

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know-

knowledge is deduced from *Plutarch*: but in what language he read him, hath yet been the question. Mr. *Upton* is pretty confident of his skill in the Original, and corrects accordingly the *Errors of his Copyists* by the Greek standard. Take a few instances, which will elucidate this matter sufficiently.

In the third act of *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Octavius* represents to his Courtiers the imperial pomp of those illustrious lovers, and the arrangement of their dominion,

“Unto her
He gave the 'stablishment of Egypt, made her
Of lower Syria, Cyprus, *Lydia*,
Absolute Queen.”

Read *Libya*, says the critick *authoritatively*, as is plain from *Plutarch*, Πρώτην μὲν ἀπέφηνε Κλεοπάτρα βασιλίσσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ ΛΙΒΥΗΣ, καὶ κοίλης Συρίας.

This is very true: Mr. *Heath* accedes to the correction, and Mr. *Johnson* admits it into the Text: but turn to the translation, from the French of *Amyot*,

It is extraordinary, that this Gentleman should attempt so voluminous a work, as the *Revisal of Shakespeare's Text*, when, he tells us in his Preface, “he was not so fortunate as to be furnished with either of the *Folio* Editions, much less any of the ancient *Quarto's*,” and even “*Sir Thomas Hanmer's* performance was known to him only by Mr. *Warburton's* representation.”

by

LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE. II

by *Thomas North*, in *Folio 1579*; ^h and you will at once see the origin of the mistake.

“ First of all he did establish *Cleopatra* Queene of *Ægypt*, of *Cyprus*, of *Lydia*, and the lower *Syria*.”
Again in the Fourth Act,

————— “ My messenger
He hath whipt with rods, dares me to personal combat,
Cæsar to *Anthony*. Let th’ old Ruffian know
I have many other ways to die ; mean time
Laugh at his challenge.”—

“ What a reply is this, cries *Mr. Upton*? ’tis acknowledging he should fall under the unequal combat. But if we read,

————— “ Let th’ old Ruffian know
He hath many other ways to die ; mean time
I laugh at his challenge.”—

We have the poignancy and the very repartee of *Cæsar* in *Plutarch*.”

This correction was first made by *Sir Thomas Hammer*, and *Mr. Johnson* hath received it. Most indisputably it is the sense of *Plutarch*, and given so in the modern translations : but *Shakespeare* was misled by the ambiguity of the old one, “ *Antoni*us sent again

^h I find the character of this work pretty early delineated;

“ ’Twas Greek at first, that Greek was Latin made,
That Latin French, that French to English straid :
Thus ’twixt one *Plutarch* there’s more difference,
Than i’t^h same *Englis*man return’d from France.”

to challenge *Cæsar* to fight him : *Cæsar* answered,
That *he* had many other ways to die, than so."

In the Third Act of *Julius Cæsar*, *Anthony* in his well-known harangue to the people, repeats a part of the Emperor's will,

———— " To every Roman citizen he gives,
To every sev'ral man, seventy five drachma's ———
Moreover he hath left you all his walks,
His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,
On *this* side Tyber." ———

" Our Author certainly wrote, says Mr. *Theobald*,
On *that* side Tyber —

Trans Tiberim — prope *Cæsar*'s hortos. *Plutarch*, whom *Shakespeare* very diligently studied expressly declares, that he left the publick his gardens and walks, *πέραν τῆς Ποταμῆς*, beyond the Tyber."

This emendation likewise hath been adopted by the subsequent Editors ; but hear again the old Translation, where *Shakespeare's* study lay, " He bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome, seventy-five drachmas a man, and he left his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on *this* side of the river of Tyber." I could furnish you with many more instances, but these are as good as a thousand.

Hence had our author his characteristick knowledge of *Brutus* and *Anthony*, upon which much argumentation for his learning hath been founded : and
hence

hence *literatim* the Epitaph on *Timon*, which it was once presumed, he had corrected from the blunders of the Latin version, by his own superior knowledge of the Original.ⁱ

I cannot however omit a passage of Mr. Pope. "The *speeches* copy'd from *Plutarch* in *Coriolanus* may, I think, be as well made an instance of the learning of *Shakespeare*, as those copy'd from *Cicero* in *Catiline*, of *Ben. Jonson's*." Let us inquire into this matter, and transcribe a *speech* for a specimen. Take the famous one of *Volumnia*.

"Should we be silent and not speak, our raiment
And state of bodies would bewray what life
We've led since thy Exile. Think with thyself,
How more unfortunate than all living women
Are we come hither; since thy fight, which should
Make our eyes flow with joy, hearts dance with comforts,
Constrains them weep, and shake with fear and sorrow;
Making the mother, wife, and child to see
The son, the husband, and the father tearing
His Country's bowels out: and to poor we
Thy enmity's most capital; thou barr'st us
Our prayers to the Gods, which is a comfort
That all but we enjoy. For how can we,
Alas! how can we, for our Country pray,
Whereto we're bound, together with thy Victory,

ⁱ See *Theobald's* Preface to *K. Richard 2d*, 8vo. 1720.

Whereto we're bound? Alack! or we must lose
 The Country, our dear nurse; or else thy Person,
 Our comfort in the Country. We must find
 An eminent calamity, tho' we had
 Our wish, which side shou'd win. For either thou
 Must, as a foreign Recreant, be led
 With manacles thorough our streets; or else
 Triumphantly tread on thy Country's ruin,
 And bear the palm, for having bravely shed
 Thy wife and children's blood. For myself, son,
 I purpose not to wait on Fortune, 'till
 These wars determine: if I can't persuade thee
 Rather to shew a noble grace to both parts,
 Than seek the end of one; thou shalt no sooner
 March to assault thy Country, than to tread
 (Trust to't, thou shalt not) on thy mother's womb,
 That brought thee to this world."

I will now give you the old Translation, which
 shall effectually confute Mr. *Pope*: for our Author
 hath done little more, than thrown the very words
 of *North* into blank verse.

"If we helde our peace (my sonne) and determin-
 ed not to speake, the state of our poore bodies, and
 present sight of our rayment, would easely bewray to
 thee what life we haue led at home, since thy exile
 and abode abroad. But thinke now with thy selfe,
 howe much more unfortunately, then all the women
 liuinge we are come hether, considering that the
 fight

fight which should be most pleasaunt to all other to beholde, spitefull fortune hath made most fearfull to us : making my selfe to see my sonne, and my daughter here, her husband, besieging the walles of his natie countrie. So as that which is the only comfort to all other in their aduersitie and miserie, to pray unto the goddes, and to call to them for aide, is the onely thinge which plongeth us into most deepe perplexitie. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our countrie, and for safety of thy life also : but a worlde of grievous curses, yea more then any mortall enemy can heape upon us, are forcibly wrapt up in our prayers. For the bitter soppe of most harde choyce is offered thy wife and children, to forgoe the one of the two : either to lose the persone of thy selfe, or the nurse of their natie contrie. For my selfe (my sonne) I am determined not to tarry, till fortune in my life time doe make an ende of this warre. For if I cannot perswade thee, rather to doe good unto both parties, then to ouerthrowe and destroye the one, preferring loue and nature before the malice and calamitie of warres : thou shalt see, my sonne, and trust unto it, thou shalt no soner marche forward to assault thy countrie, but thy foote shall tread upon thy mother's wombe, that brought thee first into this world."

The length of this quotation will be excused for

it's curiosity; and it happily wants not the assistance of a Comment. But matters may not always be so easily managed;—a plagiarism from *Anacreon* hath been detected!

“The Sun's a thief, and with his great attraction
 Robs the vast Sea. The Moon's an arrant thief,
 And her pale fire she snatches from the Sun.
 The Sea's a thief, whose liquid surge resolves
 The Moon into salt tears. The Earth's a thief,
 That feeds and breeds by a composture stol'n
 From gen'ral excrements: each thing's a thief.”

“This, says Dr. Dodd, is a good deal in the manner of the celebrated *drinking Ode*, too well known to be inserted.” Yet it may be alleged by those, who imagine *Shakespeare* to have been generally able to think for himself, that the topicks are obvious, and their application is different.—But for argument's sake, let the Parody be granted; and “our Author, says some one, may be puzzled to prove, that there was a *Latin* translation of *Anacreon* at the time *Shakespeare* wrote his *Timon of Athens*.” This challenge is peculiarly unhappy: for I do not at present recollect any other *Classick*, (if indeed, with great deference to *Mynheer De Pauw*, *Anacreon* may be numbered amongst them) that was originally published with two *Latin*^k translations.

But

^k By Henry Stephens and Elias Andreas. Par. 1554. 4to.
 ten years before the birth of *Shakespeare*. The former
 Version

LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE. 17

But this is not all. *Puttenham* in his *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, quotes some one of a "reasonable good facilitie in translation, who finding certaine of *Anacreon's* Odes very well translated by *Ronsard* the French poet — comes our Minion, and translates the same out of *French* into *English*:" and his strictures upon him evince the publication. Now this identical Ode is to be met with in *Ronsard*! and as his works are in few hands, I will take the liberty of transcribing it.

"La terre les eaux va boivant,
L'arbre la boit par sa racine,
La mer salee boit le vent,
Et le Soleil boit la marine.
Le Soleil est beu de la Lune,
Tout boit soit en haut ou en bas :
Suivant ceste reigle commune,
Pourquoy donc ne boirons-nous pas?"

Edit. Fol. p. 507.

I know not, whether an observation or two relative to our Author's acquaintance with *Homer*, be worth our investigation. The ingenious Mrs. *Lenox* observes on a passage of *Troilus and Cressida*, where

Version hath been ascribed without reason to *John Dorat*. Many other Translators appeared before the end of the Century: and particularly the Ode in question was made popular by *Buchanan*, whose pieces were soon to be met with in almost every modern language.

Achilles is roused to battle by the death of *Patroclus*, that *Shakespeare* must here have had the *Iliad* in view, as "the old Story,"^l which in many places he hath faithfully copied, is absolutely silent with respect to this circumstance."

And Mr. *Upton* is positive that the *sweet oblivious Antidote*, inquired after by *Macbeth*, could be nothing but the *Nepenthe* described in the *Odyssey*,

"Νηπενθής τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἀπάντων."

I will not insist upon the Translations by *Chapman*; as the first Editions are without date, and it may be difficult to ascertain the exact time of their publication. But the former circumstance might have been learned from *Alexander Barclay*;^m and the latter more fully from *Spenser*,ⁿ than from *Homer* himself.

^l It was originally drawn into Englishe by Caxton under the name of the *Recuyel of the Historyes of Troy*, from the French of the ryght venerable Person and worshipfull man Raoul le Feure, and fynyshe in the holy cite of Colen, the 19 day of Septembre, the yere of our Lord God, a thousand foure hundred sixty and enleuen. Wynken de Worde printed an Edit. Fol. 1503. and there have been several subsequent ones.

^m "Who list this story of *Patroclus* to reade, &c."

Ship of Fooles. 1570. p. 21.

ⁿ "Nepenthe is a drinck of soueraine grace,

Deuized by the Gods; for to assuage

Harts grief, and bitter gall away to chase——

In stead thereof sweet peace and quietage

It doth establish in the troubled mynd, &c."

Faerie Queene. 1596. B. 4. C. 3. St. 43.

"But *Shakespeare*, persists *Mr. Upton*, hath some *Greek Expressions*." Indeed! — "We have one in *Coriolanus*,

"It is held

That valour is the chiefest Virtue, and

Most dignifies the *Haver*." —

and another in *Macbeth*, where *Banquo* addresses the *Weird-Sisters*,

"My noble Partner

You greet with present grace, and great prediction

Of noble *Having*." —

Gr. *Ἐχεια*. — and *πρὸς τὸν Ἐχοντα*, to the *Haver*."

This was the common language of *Shakespeare's* time. "Lye in a water-bearer's house! says Master *Mathew* of *Bobadil*, a Gentleman of his *Havings*!"

Thus likewise *John Davies* in his *Pleasant Descant upon English Proverbs*, printed with his *Scourge of Folly*, about 1612;

"Do well and have well! — neyther so still:

For some are good *Doers*, whose *Havings* are ill."

and *Daniel* the Historian uses it frequently. *Having* seems to be synonymous with *Behaviour* in *Gowin Douglas* ° and the elder Scotch writers.

° It is very remarkable, that the Bishop is called by his Countryman, Sir *David Lindsey*, in his *Complaint of our Souerane Lordis Papingo*,

"In our *Englische* Rethorick the Rose."

And *Dunbar* hath a similar expression in his beautiful Poem of *The Goldin Terge*.

Haver, in the sense of *Possessor*, is every where met with: tho' unfortunately the *πρὸς τὸν ἔχοντα* of *Sophocles*, produced as an authority for it, is suspected by *Kuster*,^p as good a critick in these matters, to have absolutely a different meaning.

But what shall we say to the learning of the *Clown* in *Hamlet*, "Ay, tell me that, and *unyoke*?" alluding to the *Βελυτὸς* of the *Greeks*: and *Homer* and his Scholiast are quoted accordingly!

If it be not sufficient to say, with Dr. *Warburton*, that the phrase might be taken from Husbandry, without much depth of reading; we may produce it from a *Dittie* of the workmen of *Dover*, preserved in the additions to *Holingshed*, p. 1546.

"My bow is broke, I would *unyoke*,
My foot is sore, I can worke no more."

An expression of my Dame *Quickly* is next fastened upon, which you may look for in vain in the modern text; she calls some of the pretended Fairies in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*,

—— "Orphan^q Heirs of fixed Destiny."

and

^p *Aristophanis Comœdiæ undecim. Gr. & Lat. Amst. 1710. Fol. p. 596.*

^q Dr. *Warburton* corrects *Orphan* to *Ouphen*; and not without plausibility, as the word *Ouphes* occurs both before and afterward. But I fancy, in acquiescence to the vulgar doctrine, the address in this line is to a part of the
Troop,

and how elegant is this, quoth Mr. *Upton*, supposing the word to be used, as a *Grecian* would have used it? ὀφθαλμοὶς ab ὀφθαλμοῖς—acting in darkness and obscurity.”

Mr. *Heath* assures us, that the bare mention of such an interpretation, is a sufficient refutation of it: and his critical word will be rather taken in *Greek* than in *English*: in the same hands therefore I will venture to leave all our author’s knowledge of the *Old Comedy*, and his etymological learning in the word, *Desdemona*.^r

Surely poor Mr. *Upton* was very little acquainted with *Fairies*, notwithstanding his laborious study of *Spenser*. The last authentick account of them is from our countryman *William Lilly*; ^s and it by no means agrees with the *learned* interpretation: for the *ange-*

Troop, as Mortals by birth, but adopted by the Fairies: *Orphans*, with respect to their *real* Parents, and now only dependant on *Destiny* herself. A few lines from *Spenser* will sufficiently illustrate the passage.

“The man whom *beaueus* have ordaynd to bee

The spouse of *Britomart*, is *Arthegall*:

He wonneth in the land of *Fayerie*,

Yet is no *Fary* borne, ne sib at all

To *Elfes*, but sprong of seed terrestriall,

And whilome by false *Faries* stolen away,

Whyles yet in infant cradle he did crall, &c.”

Edit. 1590. B. 3. C. 3. St. 26.

^r *Revisal*. p. 75. 323. & 561.

^s *History of his Life and Times*, p. 102. preserved by his Dupe, Mr. *Asbmole*.

lical

beast Creatures appeared in his *Hurst* wood in a *most illustrious Glory*, — “and indeed, says the Sage, it is not given to very many persons to endure their *glorious aspects*.”

The only use of transcribing these things, is to shew what absurdities men for ever run into, when they lay down an Hypothesis, and afterward seek for arguments in the support of it. What else could induce this man, by no means a bad scholar, to doubt whether *Truepenny* might not be derived from *Τρόπαιον*; and quote upon us with much parade an old Scholiast on *Aristophanes*? — I will not stop to confute him: nor take any notice of two or three more Expressions, in which he was pleased to suppose some learned meaning or other; all which he might have found in every Writer of the time, or still more easily in the vulgar Translation of the Bible, by consulting the Concordance of *Alexander Cruden*.

But whence have we the Plot of *Timon*, except from the *Greek* of *Lucian*? — The Editors and Criticks have been never at a greater loss than in their inquiries of this sort; and the source of a Tale hath been often in vain sought abroad, which might easily have been found at home: My good friend, the very ingenious Editor of the *Reliques of ancient English Poetry*, hath shewn our Author to have been sometimes contented with a legendary *Ballad*.

The

The Story of the *Misanthrope* is told in almost every Collection of the time; and particularly in two books, with which *Shakespeare* was intimately acquainted; the *Palace of Pleasure*, and the *English Plutarch*. Indeed from a passage in an old Play, called *Jack Drums Entertainment*, I conjecture that he had before made his appearance on the Stage.

Were this a proper place for such a disquisition, I could give you many cases of this kind. We are sent for instance to *Cinthio* for the Plot of *Measure for Measure*, and *Shakespeare's* judgement hath been attacked for some deviations from him in the conduct of it: when probably all he knew of the matter was from *Madam Isabella* in the *Heptameron* of *Whetstone*.^t *Ariosto* is continually quoted for the Fable of *Much ado about Nothing*; but I suspect our Poet to have been satisfied with the *Geneura* of *Turberville*.^u As you like it was certainly borrowed, if we believe *Dr. Grey*, and *Mr. Upton*, from the *Coke's Tale of Gamelyn*; which by

^t Lond. 4to. 1582. She reports in the fourth dayes exercise, the rare *Historie* of *Promos* and *Cassandra*. A marginal note informs us, that *Whetstone* was the Author of the *Commedie* on that subject; which likewise had probably fallen into the hands of *Shakespeare*.

^u "The tale is a pretie comicall matter, and hath bin written in *English* verse some few years past, learnedly and with good grace, by *M. George Turberuil*." *Harrington's Ariosto*. Fol. 1591. p. 39.

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the way was not printed 'till a century afterward : when in truth the old Bard, who was no hunter of MSS. contented himself solely with *Lodge's Rosalynd or Euphues' Golden Legacy*. 4to. 1590. The Story of *All's well that ends well*, or, as I suppose it to have been sometimes called, *Love's labour wonne*,^x is originally indeed the property of *Boccace*,^y but it came immediately to *Shakespeare* from *Painter's Giletta of Narbon*.^z Mr. *Langbaine* could not conceive; whence the Story of *Pericles* could be taken, "not meeting in History with any such Prince of Tyre;" yet his le-

^x See *Meres's Wits Treasury*. 1598. p. 282.

^y Our ancient Poets are under greater obligations to *Boccace*, than is generally imagined. Who would suspect, that *Chaucer* hath borrowed from an *Italian* the facetious Tale of the *Miller of Trumpington*?

Mr. *Dryden* observes on the Epic performance, *Palamon and Arcite*, a poem little inferior in his opinion to the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid*, that the name of it's Author is wholly lost, and *Chaucer* is now become the Original. But he is mistaken: this too was the work of *Boccace*, and printed at *Ferrara* in Folio, *con il commento di Andrea Bussi*, 1475. I have seen a copy of it, and a Translation into modern *Greek*, in the noble Library of the very learned and communicative *Dr. Assew*.

It is likewise to be met with in old *French*, under the Title of *La Theſeide de Jean Boccace*, contenant les belles & chastes amours de deux jeunes Chevaliers Thebains *Arcite & Palemon*.

^z In the first Vol. of the *Palace of Pleasure*. 4to. 1566.

gend

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gend may be found at large in old *Gower*, under the name of *Appolynus*.^a

Pericles is one of the Plays omitted in the later Editions, as well as the early Folio's, and not improperly; tho' it was published many years before the death of *Shakespeare*, with his name in the Title-page. *Aulus Gellius* informs us, that some Plays are ascribed absolutely to *Plautus*, which he only *retouched* and *polished*; and this is undoubtedly the case with our Author likewise. The revival of this performance, which *Ben. Jonson* calls *stale* and *mouldy*, was probably his earliest attempt in the Drama. I know, that another of these discarded pieces, the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, hath been frequently called so; but most certainly it was not written by our Poet at all: nor indeed was it printed in his life-time. The Fact on which it is built, was perpetrated no sooner than 1604:^b much too late for so mean a performance from the hand of *Shakespeare*.

^a *Confessio Amantis*, printed by T. Berthelet. Fol. 1532. p. 175, &c.

^b "William Caluerley, of Caluerley in *Yorkshire*, Esquire, murdered two of his owne children in his owne house, then stabde his wife into the body with full intent to haue killed her, and then instantlie with like fury went from his house, to haue slaine his yongest childe at nurse, but was preuented. Hee was prest to death in *Yorke* the 5 of *August*. 1604." *Edm. Howes' Continuation of John Stowes Summarie*. 8vo. 1607. p. 574. The Story appeared before in a 4to. Pamphlet. 1605. it is omitted in the *Folio Chronicle*. 1631.

Sometimes a very little matter detects a forgery. You may remember a Play called the *Double Falshood*, which Mr. *Theobald* was desirous of palming upon the world for a posthumous one of *Shakespeare*: and I see it is classed as such in the last Edition of the *Bodleian Catalogue*. Mr. *Pope* himself, after all the strictures of *Scriblerus*,^c in a Letter to *Aaron Hill*, supposes it of that age; but a mistaken accent determines it to have been written since the middle of the last century.

“ This late example
Of base *Henriquez*, bleeding in me now,
From each good *Aspect* takes away my trust.”

And in another place,

“ You have an *Aspect*, Sir, of wondrous wisdom.”

The word *Aspect*, you perceive, is here accented on the *first* Syllable, which, I am confident, in *any* sense of it, was never the case in the time of *Shakespeare*; though it may sometimes appear to be so, when we do not observe a preceding *Elision*.^d

Some of the professed Imitators of our old Poets have not attended to this and many other *Minutiæ*:

^a These however, he assures Mr. *Hill*, were the property of Dr. *Arbutnot*.

^a Thus a line in *Hamlet's* description of the *Player*, should be printed as in the old Folio's,

“ Tears in his eyes, distraction in's aspect.”
agreeably to the accent in a hundred other places.

I could point out to you several performances in the respective *Styles* of *Chaucer*, *Spenser*, and *Shakespeare*, which the *imitated* Bard could not possibly have either read or construed.

This very accent hath troubled the Annotators on *Milton*. Dr. *Bentley* observes it to be "a *tone* different from the present use." Mr. *Manwaring*, in his *Treatise of Harmony and Numbers*, very solemnly informs us, that "this Verse is defective both in Accent and Quantity, B. 3. V. 266.

"His words here ended, but his meek *Aspect*
Silent yet spake." —

Here, says he, a syllable is *acuted* and *long*, whereas it should be *short* and *graved*!"

And a still more extraordinary Gentleman, one *Green*, who published a Specimen of a *new Version* of the *Paradise Lost*, into BLANK verse, "by which that amazing Work is brought somewhat nearer the Summit of Perfection," begins with correcting a blunder in the fourth book, V. 540.

———— "The setting Sun
Slowly descended, and with right *Aspect* —
Levell'd his evening rays." —

Not so in the *New Version*.

"Meanwhile the setting Sun descending slow —
Level'd with *aspect* right his ev'ning rays."

Enough of such Commentators. — The celebrated

Dr. *Dee* had a *Spirit*, who would sometimes condescend to correct him, when peccant in *Quantity*: and it had been kind of him to have a little assisted the *Wights* abovementioned. — *Milton* affected the *Antique*; but it may seem more extraordinary, that the old Accent should be adopted in *Hudibras*.

After all, the *Double Falshood* is superior to *Theobald*. One passage, and one only in the whole Play, he pretended to have written:

————— “Strike up, my Masters;
 “But touch the Strings with a religious softness:
 “Teach sound to languish thro’ the Night’s dull Ear,
 “Till Melancholy start from her lazy Couch,
 “And Carelessness grow Convert to Attention.”

These lines were particularly admired; and his vanity could not resist the opportunity of claiming them; but his claim had been more easily allowed to any other part of the performance.

To whom then shall we ascribe it? — Somebody hath told us, who should seem to be a *Nostrum-monger* by his argument, that, let *Accents* be how they will, it is called an original Play of *William Shakespeare* in the *King’s Patent*, prefixed to Mr. *Theobald’s* Edition, 1728, and consequently there could be no fraud in the matter. Whilst, on the contrary, the *Irish* Laureat, Mr. *Victor*, remarks, (and were it true, it would be certainly decisive) that the
 Plot

Plot is borrowed from a Novel of *Cervantes*, not published 'till the year after *Shakespeare's* death. But unluckily the same Novel appears in a part of *Don Quixote*, which was printed in *Spanish*, 1605, and in *English* by *Shelton*, 1612. — The same reasoning however, which exculpated our Author from the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, may be applied on the present occasion.

But you want my opinion : — and from every mark of Style and Manner, I make no doubt of ascribing it to *Shirley*. Mr. *Langbaine* informs us, that he left some Plays in MS. — These were written about the time of the *Restoration*, when the *Accent* in question was more generally altered.

Perhaps the mistake arose from an abbreviation of the name. Mr. *Dodley* knew not that the Tragedy of *Andromana* was *Shirley's*, from the very same cause. Thus a whole stream of Biographers tell us, that *Marston's* Plays were printed at *London*, 1633, "by the care of *William Shakespears*, the famous Comedian." — Here again I suppose, in some Transcript, the real Publisher's name, *William Sheares*, was abbreviated. No one hath protracted the life of *Shakespeare* beyond 1616, except Mr. *Hume* ; who is pleased to add a year to it, in contradiction to all manner of evidence.

Shirley is spoken of with contempt in *Mac Flecknoe* ;
but

but his Imagination is sometimes fine to an extraordinary degree. I recollect a passage in the fourth book of the *Paradise Lost*, which hath been suspected of *Imitation*, as a *prettiness* below the Genius of *Milton*: I mean, where *Uriel* glides *backward and forward* to Heaven on a *San-beam*. Dr. *Newton* informs us, that this might possibly be hinted by a Picture of *Annibal Carracci* in the King of *France's* Cabinet: but I am apt to believe that *Milton* had been struck with a Portrait in *Shirley. Fernando*, in the Comedy of the *Brothers*, 1652, describes *Jacinta* at *Vespers*:

“Her eye did seem to labour with a tear,
Which suddenly took birth, but overweigh’d
With it’s own swelling, drop’d upon her bosome;
Which by reflexion of her light, appear’d
As nature meant her sorrow for an ornament;
After, her looks grew chearfull, and I saw
A smile shoot gracefull upward from her eyes,
As if they had gain’d a victory o’er grief,
And with it many beams twist’d themselves,
Upon whose golden threads the *Angels* walk
To and again from Heaven.” —

You must not think me infected with the spirit of
Middleton, in an obscure Play, called, *A Game at Chess*, hath some very pleasing lines on a similar occasion;
“Upon those lips, the sweete fresh buds of youth,
The holy dew of prayer lies like pearle,
Dropt from the opening eye-lids of the morne
Upon the bashfull Rose.” —

Lauder,

Lauder, if I give you another of *Milton's* Imitations :

————— “ The Swan *with arched neck*

“ Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows

“ Her state with oary feet.” — B. 7. V. 438, &c.

“ The ancient Poets, says Mr. *Richardson*, have not hit upon this beauty ; so lavish as they have been in their descriptions of the *Swan*. *Homer* calls the Swan *long-necked*, δειλὸνχόδαιρον ; but how much more *pittoresque*, if he had *arched* this length of neck ?”

For *this beauty* however, *Milton* was beholden to *Donne* ; whose name, I believe, at present is better known than his writings :

————— “ Like a Ship in her full trim,

A *Swan*, so white that you may unto him

Compare all whitenesse, but himselfe to none,

Glided along, and as he glided watch'd,

And with his *arched neck* this poore fish catch'd.” —

Progresse of the Soul. St. 24.

Those highly finished Landscapes, the *Seasons*, are indeed copied from Nature : but *Thomson* sometimes recollected the hand of his Master :

————— “ The stately sailing Swan

Gives out his snowy plumage to the gale ;

And arching proud his Neck, with oary feet,

Bears forward fierce, and guards his osier Isle,

Protective of his young.” —

But

But to return, as we say on other occasions. — Perhaps the Advocates for *Shakespeare's* knowledge of the *Latin* language may be more successful. Mr. *Gildon* takes the Van. “It is plain, that He was acquainted with the *Fables* of antiquity very well: that some of the Arrows of *Cupid* are pointed with Lead, and others with Gold, he found in *Ovid*; and what he speaks of *Dido*, in *Virgil*: nor do I know any translation of these Poets so ancient as *Shakespeare's* time.” The passages on which these sagacious remarks are made, occur in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*; and exhibit, we see, a clear proof of acquaintance with the *Latin* Classics. But we are not answerable for Mr. *Gildon's* ignorance; he might have been told of *Caxton* and *Douglas*, of *Surrey* and *Stanyhurst*, of *Phaer* and *Twyne*, of *Fleming* and *Golding*, of *Turberville* and *Churchyard*! but these *Fables* were easily known without the help of either the originals or the translations. The Fate of *Dido* had been sung very early by *Gower*, *Chaucer*, and *Lydgate*; *Marloe* had even already introduced her to the Stage: and *Cupid's* arrows appear with their characteristick differences in *Surrey*, in *Sidney*, in *Spenser*, and every Sonetteer of the time. Nay, their very names were exhibited long before in the *Romaunt of the Rose*: a work, you may venture to look into, notwithstanding Master *Prynne* hath so positively assured us, on the
the

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the word of *John Gerson*, that the Author is most certainly damned, if he did not care for a serious repentance.^f

Mr. *Whalley* argues in the same manner, and with the same success. He thinks a passage in the *Tempest*,

————— “ High Queen of State,
Great *Juno* comes ; I know her by her *Gait*.”

a remarkable instance of *Shakespeare's* knowledge of ancient Poetick story ; and that the hint was furnished by the *Divum incedo Regina* of *Virgil*.^g

^f Had our zealous Puritan been acquainted with the real crime of *De Mehun*, he would not have joined in the clamour against him. Poor *Jehan*, it seems, had raised the expectations of a Monastery in *France*, by the Legacy of a great Chest, and the weighty Contents of it ; but it proved to be filled with nothing better than *Vetches*. The Friars, enraged at the ridicule and disappointment, would not suffer him to have Christian burial. See the Hon. Mr. *Barrington's* very learned and curious *Observations on the Statutes*. 4to. 1766. p. 24. From the *Annales d'Acquytayne*, Par. 1537.

Our Author had his full share in distressing the Spirit of this restless man. “ Some Play-books are grown from *Quarto* into *Folio* ; which yet bear so good a price and sale, that I cannot but with griefe relate it. — *Shack-speers Plaies* are printed in the best Crowne-paper, far better than most *Bibles* !”

^g Others would give up this passage for the *Vera incessu patuit Dea* ; but I am not able to see any improvement in the matter : even supposing the Poet had been speaking of *Juno*, and no previous Translation were extant.

E

You

You know, honest *John Taylor*, the *Water-poet*, declares that *he never learned his Accidence*, and that *Latin and French* were to him *Heathen-Greek*; yet by the help of Mr. *Whalley's* argument, I will prove him a *learned Man*, in spite of every thing, he may say to the contrary: for thus he makes a *Gallant* address his *Lady*,

“Most inestimable Magazine of Beauty — in whom the *Port and Majesty of Juno*, the *Wisdom of Jove's* braine-bred *Girl*, and the *Feature of Cytherea*,^h have their domestical habitation.”

In the *Merchant of Venice*, we have an oath “By *two-headed Janus*;” and here, says Dr. *Warburton*, *Shakespeare* shews his knowledge in the *Antique*: and

^h This passage recalls to my memory a very extraordinary fact. A few years ago, at a great Court on the Continent, a Countryman of our's of high rank and character, [*Sir C. H. W.*] exhibited with many other Candidates his complimentary Epigram on the Birth-day, and carried the prize in triumph,

“O Regina orbis prima & pulcherrima: ridens
Es Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens.”

Literally stolen from Angerianus,

“Tres quondam nudas vidit Priameius heros
Luce deas; video tres quoque luce deas.
Hoc majus; tres uno in corpore: *Cælia ridens*
Est Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens.”

Delitiæ Ital. Poet. by Gruter, under the anagrammatic Name of Ranutius Gherus. 1608. V. 1. p. 189.

Perhaps the latter part of the Epigram was met with in a whimsical book, which had it's day of Fame, *Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy*. Fol. 1652. 6th Edit. p. 520.

so again does the *Water-poet*, who describes *Fortune*,
 “ Like a *Janus* with a double-face.”

But *Shakespeare* hath somewhere a *Latin Motto*,
 quoth *Dr. Sewel*; and so hath *John Taylor*, and a
 whole Poem upon it into the bargain.

You perceive, my dear Sir, how vague and inde-
 terminate such arguments must be: for in fact this
sweet Swan of Thames, as *Mr. Pope* calls him, hath
 more scraps of *Latin*, and allusions to antiquity than
 are any where to be met with in the writings of
Shakespeare. I am sorry to trouble you with trifles,
 yet what must be done, when grave men insist upon
 them?

It should seem to be the opinion of some modern
 criticks, that the personages of *classick* land began only
 to be known in *England* in the time of *Shakespeare*;
 or rather, that he particularly had the honour of in-
 troducing them to the notice of his countrymen.

For instance, — *Rumour painted full of tongues*, gives
 us a Prologue to one of the parts of *Henry the Fourth*;
 and, says *Dr. Dodd*, *Shakespeare* had doubtless a view
 to either *Virgil* or *Ovid* in their description of *Fame*.

But why so? *Stephen Hawes* in his *Pastime of Plea-
 sure* had long before exhibited her in the same manner,

“ A goodly Lady envyrnoned about
 With *tongues* of fyre.”¹ —

¹ Cap. i. 4to. 1555.

and so had Sir *Thomas More* in one of his *Pageants*,^{*}

“*Fame* I am called, mervayle you nothing

Though with *tonges* I am compassed all rounde.”

not to mention her elaborate Portrait by *Chaucer*, in the *Boke of Fame*; and by *John Higgins*, one of the Assistants in the *Mirour for Magistrates*, in his Legend of King *Albanacte*.

A very liberal Writer on the *Beauties of Poetry*, who hath been more conversant in the ancient Literature of other Countries, than his own, “cannot but wonder, that a Poet, whose classical Images are composed of the finest parts, and breath the very spirit of ancient Mythology, should pass for being illiterate:”

“See what a grace was seated on his brow!

Hyperion's curls: the front of *Jove* himself:

An eye like *Mars* to threaten and command:

A station like the herald *Mercury*,

New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill.” *Hamlet*.

Illiterate is an ambiguous term: the question is, whether Poetick History could be only known by an Adept in *Languages*. It is no reflection on this ingenious Gentleman, when I say, that I use on this occasion the words of a better Critick, who yet was not willing to carry the *illiteracy* of our Poet too far:—

^{*} Amongst “the things, which Mayster *More* wrote in his youth for his pastime,” prefixed to his *Workes*. 1557. Fol.

“They

“ They who are in such astonishment at the *learning* of *Shakespeare*, forget that the Pagan Imagery was familiar to all the Poets of his time ; and that abundance of this sort of learning was to be picked up from almost every *English* book, that he could take into his hands.” For not to insist upon *Stephen Bateman’s* Golden booke of the leaden Goddess, 1577, and several other laborious compilations on the subject, all this and much more Mythology might as perfectly have been learned from the *Testament of Creseide*,¹ and the *Fairy Queen*,^m as from a regular Pantheon or Polymetis himself.

Mr. Upton, not contented with *Heathen* learning, when he finds it in the text, must necessarily super-add it, when it appears to be wanting ; because *Shakespeare* most certainly hath lost it by accident !

In *Much ado about Nothing*, Don Pedro says of the insensible *Benedict*, “ He hath twice or thrice cut *Cupid’s* bow-string, and the little *Hangman* dare not shoot at him.”

This mythology is not recollected in the Ancients, and therefore the critick hath no doubt but his Author wrote “ *Henchman*,—a *Page*, *Puffo* : and *this* word seeming too hard for the Printer, he translated the

¹ Printed amongst the Works of *Chaucer*, but really written by *Robert Henderson*.

^m It is observable, that *Hyperion* is used by *Spenser* with the same error in quantity.

little Urchin into a *Hangman*, a character no way belonging to him."

But this character was not borrowed from the Ancients;—it came from the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney:

"Millions of yeares this old drivell *Cupid* lives;
While still more wretch, more wicked he doth prove;
Till now at length that *Jove* him office gives,
(At *Juno's* suite who much did *Argus* love)
In this our world a *Hangman* for to be
Of all those fooles that will have all they see."

B. 2. Ch. 14.

I know it may be objected on the authority of such Biographers, as *Theophilus Cibber*, and the Writer of the Life of Sir Philip, prefixed to the modern Editions; that the *Arcadia* was not published before 1613, and consequently too late for this imitation; but I have a Copy in my own possession, printed for *W. Ponsonbie*, 1590, 4to. which hath escaped the notice of the industrious *Ames*, and the rest of our typographical Antiquaries.

Thus likewise every word of antiquity is to be cut down to the classical standard.

In a Note on the Prologue to *Troilus and Cressida*, (which, by the way, is not met with in the *Quarto*) Mr. *Theobald* informs us, that the very names of the gates of *Troy*, have been barbarously demolished by the Editors: and a deal of learned dust he makes in setting

setting them right again; much however to Mr. *Heatb's* satisfaction. Indeed the learning is modestly withdrawn from the later Editions, and we are quietly instructed to read,

"*Dardan, and Thymbria, Ilia, Scæa, Troian,
And Antenorides.*"

But had he looked into the *Troye boke* of *Lydgate*, instead of puzzling himself with *Dares Phrygius*, he would have found the horrid demolition to have been neither the work of *Shakespeare* nor his Editors,

"Therto his cytel compassed enuyrowne
Hadde gates VI to entre into the towne :
The firste of all¹ and strengest eke with all,
Largest also¹ and moſte pryncypall,
Of myghty byldyng¹ alone pereleſs,
Was by the kynge called¹ *Dardanydes* ;
And in ſtorye¹ lyke as it is founde,
*Tymbria*¹ was named the ſeconde ;
And the thyrde¹ called *Helyas*,
The fourthe gate¹ hyghte also *Cetheas* ;
The fyfthe *Trojana*,¹ the ſyxth *Anthonydes*,
Stronge and myghty¹ both in werre and pes."ⁿ

Lond. empr. by *R. Pynſon*. 1513. Fol. B. 2. Ch. II.

Our

ⁿ The *Troye Boke* was somewhat modernized, and reduced into regular Stanza's, about the beginning of the last century, under the name of the "*Life and Death of Hector*—who fought a hundred mayne Battailes in open field against the *Grecians*; wherein there were slaine on both sides *Fourteene Hundred and Sixe Thousand, Fourscore*

Our excellent friend Mr. *Hurd* hath born a noble testimony on our side of the question. “*Shakespeare,*

Fourscore and Sixe men.” *Fol. no date.* This work, Dr. *Fuller* and several other criticks have erroneously quoted as the *Original*; and observe in consequence, that “if *Chaucer’s* *Coin* were of greater weight for deeper learning, *Lydgate’s* were of a more refined standard for purer language: so that one might mistake him for a modern Writer!”

Let me here make an observation for the benefit of the next Editor of *Chaucer*. Mr. *Urry*, probably misled by his predecessor, *Speght*, was determined, *Procrustes-like*, to force every line in the *Canterbury Tales* to the same Standard: but a precise number of Syllables was not the Object of our old Poets. *Lydgate*, after the example of his Master, very fairly acknowledges,

“Well wot I! moche thing is wronge,
Falsely metryd! both of short and longe.”

and *Chaucer* himself was persuaded, that the *Rime* might possibly be

————— “Somewhat agreable,
Though some Verse faile in a Syllable.”

In short, the attention was directed to the *Cæsural pause*, as the *Grammarians* call it; which is carefully marked in every line of *Lydgate*: and *Gascoigne* in his *Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the making of Verse*, observes very truly of *Chaucer*, “Whosoever do peruse and well consider his workes, he shall find, that although his lines are not alwayes of one selfe same number of Syllables, yet beyng redde by one that hath understanding, the longest verse and that which hath most syllables in it, will fall to the Eare correspondent unto that which hath fewest syllables in it: and likewise that whiche hath in it fewest syllables shall be founde yet to consist of wordes that have suche naturall sounde, as may seeme equall in length to a verse which hath many moe syllables of lighter accents.” 4to. 1575.

says

LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE. 41

says this true Critick, owed the felicity of freedom from the bondage of classical superstition, to the want of what is called the *advantage* of a learned Education.— This, as well as a vast superiority of Genius hath contributed to lift this astonishing man to the glory of being esteemed the most original *thinker* and *speaker*, since the times of *Homer*." And hence indisputably the amazing Variety of Style and Manner, unknown to all other Writers: an argument of *itself* sufficient to emancipate *Shakespeare* from the supposition of a *Classical* training. Yet, to be honest, *one* Imitation is *fastened* on our Poet: which hath been insisted upon likewise by Mr. *Upton* and Mr. *Walley*. You remember it in the famous Speech of *Claudio* in *Measure for Measure*:

" Ay, but to die and go we know not where! &c."

Most certainly the Ideas of a " Spirit bathing in fiery floods," of residing " in thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice," or of being " imprisoned in the viewless winds," are not *original* in our Author; but I am not sure, that they came from the *Platonick Hell* of *Virgil*.^o The Monks also had their hot and their cold Hell, " the fyrste is fyre that ever brenneth,

• ————— " *Aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos: aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.*"

F

and

and never gyveth lighte, says an old Homily: p—
The seconde is passyng colde, that yf a grete hylle of
fyre were casten therin, it sholde torne to yce.” One
of their Legends, well remembered in the time of
Shakespeare, gives us a Dialogue between a Bishop
and a Soul tormented in a piece of ice, which was
brought to cure a grete brenning beate in his foot: ¶
take care you do not interpret this the Gout, for I
remember *M. Menage* quotes a Canon upon us,

“ Si quis dixerit Episcopum PODAGRA laborare, Ana-
thema fit.”

Another tells us of the Soul of a Monk fastened
to a Rock, which the winds were to blow about for
a twelvemonth, and purge of it's Enormities. In-
deed this doctrine was before now introduced into
poetick fiction, as you may see in a Poem “ where
the Lover declareth his pains to exceed far the pains
of Hell,” among the many miscellaneous ones sub-
joined to the Works of *Surrey*. Nay, a very learned
and inquisitive Brother-Antiquary, our *Greek* Pro-
fessor, hath observed to me on the authority of *Blef-
kenius*, that this was the ancient opinion of the inha-

¶ At the ende of the *Festiuall*, drawen oute of *Legenda
aurea*. 4to. 1508. it was first printed by *Caxton*, 1483.
“ in helpe of such Clerkes who excuse theym for defaute of
bokes, and also by symplenes of connynges.”

¶ On all soules daye. p. 152.

bitants

bitants of *Iceland*;† who were certainly very little read either in the *Poet* or the *Philosopher*.

After all, *Shakespeare's* curiosity might lead him to *Translations*. *Gawin Douglas* really changes the *Platonick Hell* into the "punytion of Saulis in Purgatory:" and it is observable, that when the *Ghost* informs *Hamlet* of his Doom there,

"Till the foul crimes done in his days of nature
Are burnt and purg'd away,"——

the Expression is very fimilar to the Bishop's: I will give you his Version as concisely as I can; "It is a nedeful thyng to suffer panis and torment—Sum in the wyndis, Sum under the watter, and in the fire uthir Sum:—thus the mony Vices——

"Contrakkit in the corporis be done away
And purgit"——

Sixte Booke of Eneados. Fol. p. 191.

It seems however, that "*Shakespeare himself* in the *Tempest* hath translated some expressions of *Virgil*: witness the *O Dea certe*." I presume, we are here directed to the passage, where *Ferdinand* says of *Miranda*, after hearing the Songs of *Ariel*,

—— "Most sure, the Goddesses

On whom these airs attend."

and so *very small Latin* is sufficient for this formidable translation, that if it be thought any honour to our

† *Islandiæ Descript. Lugd. Bat. 1607. p. 46.*

Poet, I am loth to deprive him of it; but his honour is not built on such a sandy foundation. Let us turn to a *real Translator*, and examine whether the Idea might not be fully comprehended by an *English* reader; *supposing* it necessarily borrowed from *Virgil*. *Hexameters* in our own language are almost forgotten; we will quote therefore this time from *Stanyhurst*:

“O to thee, fayre Virgin, what terme may rightly be fitted?

Thy tongue, thy visage no mortal frayltie resembleth.

— No doubt, a *Godeffe*!”

Edit. 1583.

Gabriel Harvey desired only to be “*Epitaph’d*, the Inventor of the *English Hexameter*,” and for a while every one would be *balting on Roman feet*; but the ridicule of our Fellow-Collegian *Hall*, in one of his *Satires*, and the reasoning of *Daniel*, in his *Defence of Rhyme* against *Campion*, presently reduced us to our original *Gothic*.

But to come nearer the purpose, what will you say, if I can shew you, that *Shakespeare*, when, in the favourite phrase, he had a *Latin Poet in his Eye*, most assuredly made use of a Translation.

Prospero in the *Tempest* begins the Address to his attendant *Spirits*,

“Ye *Elves of Hills*, of standing *Lakes*, and *Groves*.”

This speech, Dr. *Warburton* rightly observes to be borrowed from *Medea* in *Ovid*: and “it proves, says Mr.

Mr. Holt,^s beyond contradiction, that *Shakespeare* was perfectly acquainted with the Sentiments of the Ancients on the Subject of Inchantments." The original lines are these,

" Auræque, & venti, montesque, amnesque, lacusque,
Diique omnes nemorum, diique omnes noctis adeste."

It happens however, that the translation by *Arthur Golding*^t is by no means literal, and *Shakespeare* hath closely followed it;

" Ye Ayres and Winds; Ye *Elves of Hills*, of *Brookes*,
of Woods alone,

Of *standing Lakes*, and of the Night approche ye everych
one."

I think it is unnecessary to pursue this any further; especially as more powerful arguments await us.

In the *Merchant of Venice*, the *Jew*, as an apology for his cruelty to *Anthony*, rehearses many *Sympathies* and *Antipathies* for which no reason can be rendered,

" Some love not a gaping Pig —

And others when a *Bagpipe* sings i'th' nose

Cannot contain their urine for *affection*."

^s In some Remarks on the *Tempest*, published under the quaint Title of "An attempte to rescue that aunciente English Poet and Play-wrighte, Maister *Williaume Shakespeare*, from the many Errours, faulselly charged upon him by certaine new-fangled Wittes." Lond. 8vo. 1749. p. 81.

^t His work is dedicated to the Earl of *Leicester* in a long Epistle in verse, from *Berwicke*, Apr. 20. 1567.

This

This incident, Dr. *Warburton* supposes to be taken from a passage in *Scaliger's Exercitationes* against *Cardan*, "Narrabo tibi jocofam Sympathiam *Reguli, Vasconis Equitis*: Is dum viveret audito *Phormingis* sono, urinam illico facere cogeatur." And, proceeds the *Doctor*, to make this jocular story still more ridiculous, *Shakespeare*, I suppose, translated *Pharminx* by *Bagpipes*.

Here we seem fairly caught; — for *Scaliger's* work was never, as the term goes, *done into English*. But luckily in an old translation from the *French* of *Peter Le Loier*, entitled, *A treatise of Specters, or straunge Sights, Visions and Apparitions appearing sensibly unto men*, we have this identical Story from *Scaliger*: and what is still more, a marginal Note gives us in all probability the very fact alluded to, as well as the word of *Shakespeare*, "Another Gentleman of this quality liued of late in Deuon neere Excester, who could not endure the playing on a *Bagpipe*." ^u

We may just add, as some observation hath been made upon it, that *Affection* in the sense of *Sympathy* was

^u M. *Bayle* hath delineated the singular character of our *Fantastical* Author. His work was originally translated by one *Zacharie Jones*. My Edit. is in 4to. 1605. with an anonymous Dedication to the King: the *Devonshire* Story was therefore well known in the time of *Shakespeare*. — The passage from *Scaliger* is likewise to be met with in *The Optick Glasse of Humors*, written, I believe, by *T. Wombwell*; and in several other places,

formerly

formerly *technical*; and so used by Lord Bacon, Sir Kenelm Digby, and many other Writers.

A single word in Queen Catherine's Character of *Wolfey*, in Henry the 8th, is brought by the Doctor as another argument for the learning of *Shakespeare*.

————— “ He was a man
Of an unbounded Stomach, ever ranking
Himself with Princes; one that by *Suggestion*
Ty'd all the kingdom. Simony was fair play.
His own opinion was his law, i'th' presence
He would say untruths, and be ever double
Both in his words and meaning. He was never
But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
His promises were, as he then was, mighty;
But his performance, as he now is, nothing.
Of his own body he was ill, and gave
The Clergy ill example.”

The word *Suggestion*, says the Critick, is here used with great propriety, and *seeming* knowledge of the Latin tongue: and he proceeds to settle the sense of it from the late Roman writers and their glossers. But *Shakespeare's* knowledge was from *Holingsbed*, whom he follows *verbatim*:

“ This Cardinal was of a great stomach, for he compted himself equal with princes, and by craftie *Suggestion* got into his hands innumerable treasure: he forced little on simonie, and was not pitifull, and
stood

stood affectionate in his own opinion : in open presence he would lie and seie untruth, and was double both in speech and meaning : he would promise much and performe little : he was vicious of his bodie, and gaue the clergie euil example." Edit. 1587. p. 922.

Perhaps after this quotation, you may not think, that Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, who reads *Tytb'd*—instead of *Ty'd all the kingdom*, deserves quite so much of Dr. *Warburton's* severity.——Indisputably the passage, like every other in the Speech, is intended to expresse the meaning of the parallel one in the Chronicle : it cannot therefore be credited, that any man, when the *Original* was produced, should still chuse to defend a *tant* acceptation ; and inform us, perhaps, *seriously*, that in *gaming* language, from I know not what practice, to *tye* is to *equal* ! A sense of the word, as far as I have yet found, *unknown* to our old Writers ; and, if *known*, would not surely have been used in *this* place by our Author.

But let us turn from conjecture to *Shakespeare's* authorities. *Hall*, from whom the above description is copied by *Holingshed*, is very explicit in the demands of the *Cardinal* : who having insolently told the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen*, " For sothe I thinke, that *halfe* your substaunce were to litle," assures them by way of comfort at the end of his harangue, that

upon an average the tythe should be sufficient; "Sers, speake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for *some* shal not paie the *tenth* parte, and *some* more."

— And again; "Thei saied, the Cardinall by Visitations, makynge of Abbottes, probates of testaments, graunting of faculties, licences, and other pollyngs in his Courtes legantines, had made his *threasure* *egall with the kynges*." Edit. 1548. p. 138. and 143.

Skelton,^x in his *Why come ye not to Court*, gives us,
after

^x His Poems are printed with the title of "Pithy; Pleasaunt, and Profitable Workes of Maister *Skelton*, Poete Laureate." — But; says Mr. *Cibber*; after several other Writers, "how or by what Interest he was made Laureat, or whether it was a title he assumed to himself, cannot be determined." — This is an error pretty generally received, and it may be worth our while to remove it.

A facetious Author says somewhere; that a *Poet Laureat*, in the modern Idea, is a Gentleman, who hath an annual Stipend for reminding us of the *New Year*, and the *Birth-day*: but formerly a *Poet Laureat* was a real *University Graduate*.

"*Skelton* wore the Lawrell wreath

And past in *schools* ye knoe."

says *Churchyarde* in the Poem prefixed to his Works. And Master *Caxton* in his Preface to *The boke of Eneydos*, 1490. hath a passage, which well deserves to be quoted without abridgment: "I praye mayster *John Skelton*, late created poete laureate in the unyversite of *Oxenforde*; to oversee and correcte thys sayd booke, and taddresse and expowne whereas shall be founde faulte, to theym that shall requyre it; for hym I knowe for suffycient to expowne and Englyshe every dyfficulte that is therein; for he hath late translated the epyfles of *Tulle*; and the

after his rambling manner, a curious character of *Wolsey*:

————— “ By and by
He will drynke us so dry
And sucke us so nye
That men shall scantly
Haue penny or halpennye
God saue hys noble grace
And graunt him a place
Endlesse to dwel
With the deuill of hel
For and he were there
We nead neuer feare

book of *Dyodorus Syculus*, and diuerse other workes, out of *Latyn* into *Englifshe*, not in rude and old langage, but in polyshed and ornate termes, craftely, as he that hath redde *Vyrgyle*, *Ouyde*, *Tullye*, and all the other noble poets and oratours, to me unknowen: and also he hath redde the ix muses, and understands their musicall scyences, and to whom of them eche scyence is appropred: I suppose he hath dronken of *Elycons* well!”

I find, from Mr. *Baker's* MSS. that our *Laureat* was admitted *ad eundem* at *Cambridge*: “An. Dom. 1493. & Hen. 7. nono. Conceditur *Jobi Skelton* Poete in partibus transmarinis atque *Oxon*. Laureâ ornato, ut apud nos eâdem decoraretur.” And afterward, “An. 1504 Conceditur *Jobi Skelton*, Poetæ Laureat. quod possit stare eodem gradu hic, quo stetit *Oxonii*, & quod possit uti habitu sibi concessio à Principe.”

See likewise Dr. *Knight's* Life of *Colet*. p. 122. And *Recherches sur les Poetes couronnez*, par M. l'Abbé du *Refnel*, in the *Memoires de Litterature*. Vol. 10. Paris. 4to. 1736.

Of the feendes blacke
 For I undertake
 He wold so brag and crake
 That he wold than make
 The deuils to quake
 To shudder and to shake
 Lyke a fier drake
 And with a cole rake
 Bruse them on a brake
 And binde them to a stake
 And set hel on fyre
 At his owne desire
 He is such a grym fyre!"

Edit. 1568.

Mr. *Upton* and some other Criticks have thought it very *scholar-like* in *Hamlet* to swear the Centinels on a *Sword*: but this is for ever met with. For instance, in the *Passus primus* of *Pierce Plowman*,

"*Dauid* in his daies dubbed knightes,
 And did hem *swere on her sword* to serue truth euer."

And in *Hieronymo*, the common Butt of our Author, and the Wits of the time, says *Lorenzo* to *Pedringano*,

"Swear on this crosse, that what thou sayst is true —
 But if I prove thee perjured and unjust,
 This very *sword*, whereon thou took'st thine oath
 Shall be the worker of thy Tragedy!"

We have therefore no occasion to go with Mr. *Garrick* as far as the *French* of *Brantôme* to illustrate this

ceremony : y a Gentleman, who will be always allowed the first Commentator on *Shakespeare*, when he does not carry us beyond himself.

Mr. *Upton* however, in the next place, produces a passage from *Henry the sixth*, whence he argues it to be very plain, that our Author had not only read *Cicero's Offices*, but even more critically than many of the Editors :

————— " This Villain here
Being Captain of a *Pinnace*, threatens more
Than *Bargulus*, the strong *Illyrian* Pirate."

So the *Wight*, he observes with great exultation, is named by *Cicero* in the Editions of *Shakespeare's* time, "*Bargulus, Illyrius latro*;" tho' the modern Editors have chosen to call him *Bardylis* : — " and thus I found it in two MSS." — And thus he might have found it in two Translations, before *Shakespeare* was born. *Robert Whytinton*, 1533, calls him, "*Bargulus*, a Pirate upon the see of *Illiry*;" and *Nicholas Grimald*, about twenty years afterward, "*Bargulus*, the *Illyrian* Robber." z

But it had been easy to have checked Mr. *Upton's* exultation, by observing, that *Bargulus* does not appear in the *Quarto*. — Which also is the case with

y Mr. *Johnson's* Edit. V. 8. p. 171.

z I have met with a Writer who tells us, that a Translation of the *Offices* was printed by *Caxton*, in the year 1481 : but such a book never existed. It is a mistake for "*Tullius of olde age*," by *John Tiptoft*, Earl of *Worcester*.
some

some fragments of *Latin* verses, in the different *Parts* of this *doubtful* performance.

It is scarcely worth mentioning, that two or three more *Latin* passages, which are met with in our Author, are immediately transcribed from the Story or Chronicle before him. Thus in *Henry the fifth*, whose right to the kingdom of *France* is copiously demonstrated by the *Archbishop*.

“ There is no bar
To make against your Highness’ claim to *France*,
But this which they produce from *Pharamond*:
In terram *Salicam* mulieres nē succedant;
No Woman shall succeed in *Salike* land:
Which *Salike* land the *French* unjustly gloze
To be the realm of *France*, and *Pharamond*
The founder of this law and female bar.
Yet their own authors faithfully affirm,
That the land *Salike* lies in *Germany*,
Between the floods of *Sala* and of *Elve*, &c.”

Archbishop *Chicheley*, says *Holingshed*, “ did much in-
ueie against the surmised and false fained law *Salike*,
which the *Frenchmen* alledge euer against the kings of
England in barre of their just title to the crowne of
France. The very words of that supposed law are these,
In terram *Salicam* mulieres nē succedant, that is to saie,
Into the *Salike* land let not women succeed; which
the *French* glossers expound to be the realm of *France*,
and that this law was made by King *Pharamond*:
whereas

whereas yet their owne authors affirme, that the land *Salike* is in *Germanie*, between the rivers of *Elbe* and *Sala*, &c." p. 545.

It hath lately been repeated from Mr. *Guthrie's* "Essay upon *English* Tragedy," that the *Portrait* of *Macbeth's* Wife is copied from *Buchanan*, "whose spirit, as well as words, is translated into the Play of *Shakespeare*: and it had signified nothing to have pored only on *Holingshed* for *Facts*." — "Animus etiam, per se ferox, prope quotidianis conviciis uxoris (quæ omnium consiliorum ei erat conscia) stimulabatur." — This is the whole, that *Buchanan* says of the *Lady*, and truly I see no more spirit in the *Scotch*, than in the *English* Chronicler. "The wordes of the three weird Sisters also greatly encouraged him [to the Murder of *Duncan*], but specially his wife lay fore upon him to attempt the thing, as she that was very ambitious, brenning in unquenchable desire to beare the name of a *Queene*." Edit, 1577. p. 244.

This part of *Holingshed* is an Abridgment of *Johne Bellenden's* translation of the noble clerk, *Hector Boece*, imprinted at *Edinburgh*, in Fol. 1541. I will give the passage as it is found there. "His wyfe impatient of lang tary (as all women ar) specially quhare they ar desirus of ony purpos, gaif hym gret artation to pursew the thrid weird, that sche might be ane quene,

quene, calland hym oft tymis febyl cownt and nocht desyrus of honouris, sen he durst not assaile the thing with manheid and curage, quhilk is offerit to hym be beniuolence of fortoun. Howbeit findry otheris hes assailezeit sic thinges afore with maist terribyl jeopardyis, quhen thay had not sic sickernes to succed in the end of thair laubouris as he had." p. 173.

But we can *demonstrate*, that *Shakespeare* had not the Story from *Buchanan*. According to *him*, the Weird-Sisters salute *Macbeth*, "*Una Angustie Thannum, altera Moravie, tertia Regem.*" — Thane of *Angus*, and of *Murray*, &c. but according to *Holingshed*, immediately from *Bellenden*, as it stands in *Shakespeare*, "The first of them spake and sayde, All hayle *Makbeth* Thane of *Glamis*, — the second of them said, Hayle *Makbeth* Thane of *Cawdor*; but the third sayde, All hayle *Makbeth*, that hereafter shall be king of Scotland." p. 243.

"1 *Witch*. All hail, *Macbeth*! Hail to thee, Thane of *Glamis*!

2 *Witch*. All hail, *Macbeth*! Hail to thee, Thane of *Cawdor*!

3 *Witch*. All hail, *Macbeth*! that shalt be *King* hereafter!"

Here too our Poet found the equivocal Predictions, on which his Hero so fatally depended. "He had learned of certain wyfards, how that he ought to take

take heede of *Macduffe*; — and surely hereupon had he put *Macduffe* to death, but a certaine witch whom he had in great trust, had tolde, that he should neuer be slain with *man borne of any woman*; nor vanquished till the Wood of *Bernane* came to the Castell of *Dunfinane*." p. 244. And the Scene between *Malcolm* and *Macduff* in the fourth act is almost literally taken from the *Chronicle*.

Macbeth was certainly one of *Shakespeare's* latest Productions, and it might possibly have been suggested to him by a little performance on the same subject at *Oxford*, before King *James*, 1605. I will transcribe my notice of it from *Wake's Rex Platonicus*: "Fabulæ ansam dedit antiqua de Regiâ profapiâ historiola apud *Scoto-Britannos* celebrata, quæ narrat tres olim Sibyllas occurrissè duobus *Scotiæ* proceribus, *Macbetho* & *Banchoni*, & illum prædixissè Regem futurum, sed Regem nullum geniturum; hunc Regem non futurum, sed Reges geniturum multos. Vaticinii veritatem rerum eventus comprobavit. *Banchonis* enim è stirpe Potentissimus *Jacobus* oriundus." p. 29.

A stronger argument hath been brought from the Plot of *Hamlet*. Dr. *Grey* and Mr. *Whalley* assure us, that for this, *Shakespeare* must have read *Saxo Grammaticus* in *Latin*, for no translation hath been made into any modern Language. But the truth is, he did not take it from *Saxo* at all; a Novel called the

Hystorie

Hyſtorie of Hamlet was his original: a fragment of which, in *black Letter*; I have been favoured with by a very curious and intelligent Gentleman, to whom the lovers of *Shakespeare* will ſome time or other owe great obligations.

It hath indeed been ſaid, that “*IF ſuch an hiſtory exiſts*, it is almoſt impoſſible that any poet unacquainted with the *Latin* language (ſuppoſing his perceptive faculties to have been ever ſo acute) could have caught the characteriſtical madneſs of *Hamlet*, deſcribed by *Saxo Grammaticus*,^a ſo happily as it is delineated by *Shakespeare*.”

Very luckily, our Fragment gives us a part of *Hamlet's* Speech to his *Mother*, which ſufficiently replies to this obſervation. — “It was not without cauſe; and juſte occaſion, that my geſtures, countenances and words ſeeme to proceed from a madman, and that I deſire to haue all men eſteeme mee wholly de- priued of ſence and reaſonable underſtanding, by cauſe I am well aſſured, that he that hath made no con- ſcience to kill his owne brother, (accuſtomed to mur- thers, and allured with deſire of gouernement with-

^a “*Falſitatis enim (Hamletbus) alienus haberi cupidus, ita aſtutiam veriloquio permiſcebat, ut nec dictis veraci- tas deeſſet, nec acuminis modus verorum iudicio prode- retur.*” This is quoted, as it had been before, in Mr. *Guthrie's* Eſſay on Tragedy, with a ſmall variation from the *Original*. See Edit. *Fol.* 1644. p. 50.

out controll in his treasons) will not spare to saue himselfe with the like crueltie, in the blood, and flesh of the loyns of his brother, by him massacred: and therefore it is better for me to fayne madnesse then to use my right senses as nature hath bestowed them upon me, The bright shining clearnes therof I am forced to hide vnder this shadow of dissimulation, as the sun doth hir beams vnder some great cloud, when the wether in summer time ouercasteth: the face of a mad man, serueth to couer my gallant countenance, and the gestures of a fool are fit for me, to the end that guiding my self wisely therein I may preferue my life for the *Danes* and the memory of my late deceased father, for that the desire of reuenging his death is so ingrauen in my heart, that if I dye not shortly, I hope to take such and so great vengeance, that these Countreyes shall for euer speake thereof. Neuertheless I must stay the time, meanes, and occasion, lest by making ouer great hast, I be now the cause of of mine owne sodaine ruine and ouerthrow, and by that meanes, end, before I beginne to effect my hearts desire: hee that hath to doe with a wicked, disloyall, cruell, and discourteous man, must vse craft, and politike inuentions, such as a fine witte can best imagine, not to discouer his interprise: for seeing that by force I cannot effect my desire, reason alloweth me by dissimulation, subtiltie, and secret practises to proceed therein."

But

But to put the matter out of all question, my communicative Friend above-mentioned, Mr. *Capell*, (for why should I not give myself the credit of his name?) hath been fortunate enough to procure from the Collection of the Duke of *Newcastle*, a complete Copy of the *Hystorie of Hamblet*, which proves to be a translation from the *French of Belleforest*; and he tells me, that "all the chief incidents of the Play, and all the capital Characters are there in *embryo*, after a rude and barbarous manner; sentiments indeed there are none, that *Shakespeare* could borrow; nor any expression but *one*, which is, where *Hamlet* kills *Polonius* behind the arras: in doing which he is made to cry out, as in the Play, "*a rat, a rat!*"——So much for *Saxo Grammaticus*!

It is scarcely conceivable, how industriously the puritanical Zeal of the last age exerted itself in destroying, amongst better things, the innocent amusements of the former. Numberless *Tales* and *Poems* are alluded to in old Books, which are now perhaps no where to be found. Mr. *Capell* informs me, (and he is in these matters, the most able of all men to give information) that our Author appears to have been beholden to some *Novels*, which he hath yet only seen in *French* or *Italian*: but he adds, "to say they are not in some *English* dress, prosaic or metrical, and perhaps with circumstances nearer to his stories,

is what I will not take upon me to do : nor indeed is it what I believe ; but rather the contrary, and that time and accident will bring some of them to light, if not all." —

W. Painter, at the conclusion of the second *Tome* of his *Palace of Pleasure*, 1567, advertises the Reader, " bicause sodaynly (contrary to expectation) this Volume is risen to greater heape of leaues, I doe omit for this present time *sundry Nouels* of mery devise, reseruing the same to be joyned with the rest of an other part, wherein shall succcede the remnant of *Bandello*, specially sutch (suffrable) as the learned French man *François de Belleforrest* hath selected, and the choyslest done in the *Italian*. Some also out of *Erizzo*, *Ser Giouanni Florentino*, *Parabosco*, *Cynthio*, *Straparole*, *Sanfouino*, and the best liked out of the *Queene of Nauarre*, and other Authors. Take these in good part, with those that haue and shall come forth." — But I am not able to find, that a *third Tome* was ever published : and it is very probable, that the Interest of his Booksellers, and more especially the prevailing Mode of the time, might lead him afterward to print his *sundry Novels* separately. If this were the case, it is no wonder, that such *fugitive Pieces* are recovered with difficulty ; when the *two Tomes*, which *Tom. Rawlinson* would have called *justa Volumina*, are almost annihilated. *Mr. Ames*,
who

who searched after books of this sort with the utmost avidity, most certainly had not seen them, when he published his *Typographical Antiquities*; as appears from his blunders about them: and possibly I myself might have remained in the same predicament, had I not been favoured with a Copy by my generous Friend, Mr. Lort.

Mr. Colman, in the Preface to his elegant Translation of *Terence*, hath offered some arguments for the Learning of *Shakespeare*, which have been retailed with much confidence, since the appearance of Mr. Johnson's Edition.

“ Besides the resemblance of particular passages scattered up and down in different plays, it is well known, that the *Comedy of Errors* is in great measure founded on the *Menæchmi* of *Plautus*; but I do not recollect ever to have seen it observed, that the disguise of the *Pedant* in the *Taming of the Shrew*, and his assuming the name and character of *Vincentio*, seem to be evidently taken from the disguise of the *Sycophanta* in the *Trinummus* of the said Author; ^b and there

^b This observation of Mr. Colman is quoted by his very ingenious Colleague, Mr. Thornton, in his Translation of this Play: who further remarks, in another part of it, that a passage in *Romeo and Juliet*, where *Shakespeare* speaks of the contradiction in the nature of *Love*, is very much in the manner of his Author:

“ Amor — mores hominum moros & morosos efficit.

Minus

there is a quotation from the *Eunuch* of Terence also, so familiarly introduced into the Dialogue of the

Taming

Minus placet quod suadetur, quod disuadetur placet.

Quom inopia'it, cupias, quando ejus copia'it, tum non velis. &c."

Which he translates with ease and elegance,

————— "Love makes a man a fool,
Hard to be pleas'd. — What you'd persuade him to,
He likes not, and embraces that, from which
You would dissuade him. — What there is a lack of,
That will he covet; — when 'tis in his power,
He'll none on't." —

Act 3. Scene 3.

Let us now turn to the passage in *Shakespeare*:

———— "O brawling Love! O loving hate! —

O heavy lightness! serious vanity!

Mis-shapen Chaos of well-seeming forms!

Feather of lead, bright smoke, cold fire, sick health!

Still-waking Sleep! that is not what it is!"

Shakespeare, I am sure, in the opinion of Mr. *Thornton*, did not want a *Plautus* to teach him the workings of Nature; nor are his *Parallelisms* produced with any such implication: but, I suppose, a peculiarity appears here in the manner of expression, which however was extremely the humour of the Age. Every *Sonneteer* characterises *Love* by contrarieties. *Watson* begins one of his *Canzonets*,

"Love is a fowre delight, a sugred griefe

A living death, an euer-dying life, &c."

Turberville makes *Reason* harangue against it in the same manner,

"A fierie Frost, a Flame that frozen is with life!

A heaوية Burden light to beare! a Vertue fraught with Vice! &c."

Immediately from the *Romance of the Rose*,

"Loue it is an hatefull pees

A free acquitaunce without reles —

An

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Taming of the Shrew, that I think it puts the question of *Shakespeare's* having read the Roman Comick Poets in the original language out of all doubt,

Redime te captum, quam queas, minimo."

With respect to *resemblances*, I shall not trouble you any further.— That the *Comedy of Errors* is founded on the *Menæchmi*, it is notorious: nor is it less so, that a Translation of it by W. W. perhaps *William Warner*, the Author of *Albions England*, was extant in the time of *Shakespeare*; ^c tho' Mr. *Upton*,
and

An heavie burthen light to beare
A wicked wawe awaie to weare:
And health full of maladie
And charitie full of envie —
A laughter that is weping aie
Rest that travaileth night and daie, &c."

This kind of *Antithesis* was very much the taste of the *Provençal* and *Italian* Poets; perhaps it might be hinted by the Ode of *Sappho* preserved by *Longinus*: *Petrarch* is full of it,

" Pace non trovo, & non hó da far guerra,
Et temo, & spero, & ardo, & fon un ghiaccio,
Et volo sopra'l cielo, & ghiaccio in terra,
Et nulla stringo, & tuttòl mondo abbraccio. &c."

Sonetto 105.

Sir *Thomas Wyatt* gives a translation of this Sonnet, without any notice of the *Original*, under the title of "Description of the contrarious passions in a Louer." Amongst the *Songes and Sonettes*, by the Earle of *Surrey*, and Others. 1574.

^c It was published in 4to. 1595. The Printer of *Langbaine*, p. 524, hath accidentally given the date, 1515,
which

and some other advocates for his learning, have cautiously dropt the mention of it. Besides this, (if indeed it were different) in the *Gesta Grayorum*, the Christmas Revels of the *Gray's-Inn Gentlemen*, 1594, "a *Comedy of Errors* like to *Plautus* his *Menechmus* was played by the Players." And the same hath been suspected to be the Subject of the goodlie *Comedie of Plautus* acted at *Greenwich* before the King and Queen in 1520; as we learn from *Hall* and *Holingshed*:—*Riccoboni* highly compliments the *English* on opening their stage so well; but unfortunately, *Cavendish* in his *Life of Wolsey*, calls it, an excellent *Interlude in Latine*. About the same time it was exhibited in *German* at *Nuremburgh*, by the celebrated *Hanssach* the *Shoemaker*.

"But a character in the *Taming of the Shrew* is borrowed from the *Trinummus*, and no translation of that was extant."

Mr. *Colman* indeed hath been better employ'd: but if he had met with an old Comedy, called *Supposes*, translated from *Ariosto* by *George Gascoigne*,^d he certainly

which hath been copied implicitly by *Gildon*, *Theobald*, *Cooke*, and several others. *Warner* is now almost forgotten, yet the old Criticks esteemed him one of "our chiefe heroical *Makers*."—*Meres* informs us, that he had "heard him termed of the best wits of both our Universities, our *English Homer*."

^d His works were first collected under the singular title of "A hundreth sundrie Flowres bounde up in one small

Poesie.

tainly would not have appealed to *Plautus*. Thence *Shakespeare* borrowed this part of the Plot, (as well as some of the phraseology) though *Theobald* pronounces it his own invention: there likewise he found the quaint name of *Petruchio*. My young Master and his Man exchange habits and characters, and persuade a *Scenæse*, as he is called, to personate the *Father*, exactly as in the *Taming of the Shrew*, by the pretended danger of his coming from *Sienna* to *Ferrara*, contrary to the order of the government.

Still, *Shakespeare* quotes a line from the *Eunuch* of *Terence*: by memory too, and what is more, “purposely alters it, in order to bring the sense within the compass of one line.”—— This remark was previous to Mr. *Johnson's*; or indisputably it would not have been made at all.—— “Our Author had this line from *Lilly*; which I mention that it may not be brought as an argument of his learning.”

But how, cries an unprovoked Antagonist, can you take upon you to say, that he had it from *Lilly*,

Poesie. Gathered partly (by translation) in the fyne outlandish Gardins of *Euripides*, *Ouid*, *Petrarke*, *Ariosto*, and others: and partly by inuention, out of our owne fruitfull Orcharden in *Englande*: yelding sundrie sweete saouours of Tragical, Comical, and Morall Discourses, bothe pleasaunt and profitable to the well smellyng noses of learned Readers.” *Black Letter*. 4to. no date.

and not from *Terence*?^e I will answer for Mr. *Johnson*, who is above answering for himself. — Because it is quoted as it appears in the *Grammarians*, and not as it appears in the *Poet*. — And thus we have done with the *purposed* alteration. *Udall* likewise in his “*Floures for Latin speaking*, gathered out of *Terence*, 1560,” reduces the passage to a single line, and subjoins a Translation.

We have hitherto supposed *Shakespeare* the Author of the *Taming of the Shrew*, but his property in it is extremely disputable. I will give you my opinion, and the reasons on which it is founded. I suppose then the present Play not *originally* the work of *Shakespeare*, but restored by him to the Stage, with the whole *Induction* of the *Tinker*, and some other occasional improvements; especially in the Character of *Petruchio*. It is very obvious, that the *Induction* and the *Play* were either the works of different hands, or written at a great interval of time: the former is in our Author's *best* manner, and the greater part of the latter in his *worst*, or even below it. Dr. *Warburton* declares it to be *certainly* spurious: and without doubt, *supposing* it to have been written by *Shakespeare*, it must have been one of his *earliest* productions; yet it is not mentioned in the List of his Works by *Meres* in 1598.

^e *W. Kenrick's* Review of Dr. *Johnson's* Edit. of *Shakespeare*. 1765. 8vo. p. 105.

I have met with a facetious piece of Sir *John Harrington*, printed in 1596, (and possibly there may be an earlier Edition) called, *The Metamorphosis of Ajax*, where I suspect an allusion to the old Play; "Read the booke of *Taming a Shrew*, which hath made a number of us so perfect, that now every one can rule a Shrew in our Countrey, save he that hath hir." — I am aware, a modern Linguist may object, that the word *Book* does not at present seem *dramatick*, but it was once almost *technically* so: *Goffson* in his *Schoole of Abuse*, contayning a pleasaunt inuective against *Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters*, and such like *Caterpillars of a Common-wealth*, 1579, mentions "twoo prose *Bookes* plaied at the *Belsauage*;" and *Hearne* tells us in a Note at the end of *William of Worcester*, that he had seen a MS. in the nature of a *Play or Interlude*, intituled, the *Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*.^f

And

^f I know indeed, there is extant a very old Poem, in *black Letter*, to which it might have been supposed Sir *John Harrington* alluded, had he not spoken of the Discovery as a *new* one, and recommended it as worthy the notice of his Countrymen: I am persuaded the method in the old Bard will not be thought *either*. At the end of the sixth Volume of *Leland's Itinerary*, we are favoured by Mr. *Hearne* with a *Macaronic Poem* on a Battle at *Oxford* between the Scholars and the Townsmen: on a line of which,

"Invadunt aulas *bycheson cum forth* geminantes,"
our Commentator very wisely and gravely remarks:
"*Bycheson*, id est, *Son of a Byche*, ut è *Codice Rawlinso-*

And in fact, there is such an old *anonymous* Play in Mr. *Pope's* List. "A pleasant conceited History, called, *The Taming of a Shrew* — sundry times acted by the Earl of *Pembroke* his Servants." Which seems to have been republished by the Remains of that Company in 1607, when *Shakespeare's* copy appeared at the *Black-Friars* or the *Globe*. — Nor let this seem derogatory from the character of our Poet. There is no reason to believe, that he wanted to claim the Play as his own; it was not even printed 'till some

niano edidi. Eo nempe modo quo et olim Whorson dixerunt pro Son of a Whore. Exempla habemus cum alibi tum in libello quodam lepido & antiquo (inter Codices Seldenianos in Bibl. Bodl.) qui inscribitur: The Wife lapped in Morels Skyn: or the Taming of a Shrew. Ubi pag. 36. sic legimus:

"They wrestled togyther thus they two
 So long that the clothes asunder went.
 And to the ground he threwe her tho,
 That cleane from the backe her smock he rent.
 In every hand a rod he gate,
 And layd upon her a right good pace:
 Asking of her what game was that,
 And she cried out, *Horeson*, alas, alas."

Et pag. 42.

Come downe now in this feller so deepe,
 And Morels skin there shall you see:
 With many a rod that hath made me to weepe,
 When the blood ranne downe fast by my knee.
 The Mother this beheld, and cryed out, alas:
 And ran out of the feller as she had been wood.
 She came to the table where the company was,
 And sayd out, *Horeson*, I will see thy harte blood."

years

years after his death: but he merely revived it on his Stage as a *Manager*.—*Ravenscroft* assures us, that this was really the case with *Titus Andronicus*; which, it may be observed, hath not *Shakespeare's* name on the Title-page of the only Edition published in his life-time. Indeed, from every internal mark, I have not the least doubt but this *horrible* Piece was originally written by the Author of the *Lines* thrown into the mouth of the *Player* in *Hamlet*, and of the *Tragedy of Locrine*: which likewise from some assistance perhaps given to his Friend, hath been unjustly and ignorantly charged upon *Shakespeare*.

But the *sheet-anchor* holds fast: *Shakespeare* himself hath left some Translations from *Ovid*. The Epistles, says One, of *Paris* and *Helen* give a sufficient proof of his acquaintance with *that* poet; and it may be concluded, says Another, that he was a competent judge of *other* Authors, who wrote in the same language.

This hath been the universal cry, from Mr. *Pope* himself to the Criticks of yesterday. Possibly, however, the Gentlemen will hesitate a moment, if we tell them, that *Shakespeare* was *not* the Author of these Translations. Let them turn to a forgotten book, by *Thomas Heywood*, called *Britaines Troy*, printed by *W. Jaggard* in 1609, *Fol.* and they will find these identical Epistles, “ which being so
pertinent

pertinent to our Historie, says *Heywood*, I thought necessarie to translate."—How then came they ascribed to *Shakespeare*? We will tell them that likewise. The same voluminous Writer published an *Apology for Actors*, 4to. 1612, and in an Appendix directed to his new Printer *Nic. Okes*, he accuses his old One, *Jaggard*, of "taking the two Epistles of *Paris* to *Helen*, and *Helen* to *Paris*, and printing them in a less volume under the name of *Another* :—but he was much offended with Master *Jaggard*, that altogether unknowne to him, he had presumed to make so bold with his Name." & In the same work of *Heywood* are all the other Translations, which have been printed in the modern Editions of the Poems of *Shakespeare*.

You now hope for land: We have seen through little matters, but what must be done with a whole book?—In 1751, was reprinted "A compendious or brieife examination of certayne ordinary complaints of diuers of our Countrymen in these our days: which although they are in some parte unjust and friuolous, yet are they all by way of Dialogue

& It may seem little matter of wonder, that the name of *Shakespeare* should be borrowed for the benefit of the Book-seller; and by the way, as probably for a *Play* as a *Poem*: but modern Criticks may be surpris'd perhaps at the complaint of *John Hall*, that "certayne Chapters of the *Proverbes*, translated by him into *English* metre, 1550, had before been untruely entituled to be the doyngs of *Mayster Thomas Sternhold*."

thoroughly

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thoroughly debated and discussed by *William Shakespeare, Gentleman.*" 8vo.

This extraordinary piece was originally published in 4to, 1581, and dedicated by the Author, "To the most vertuous and learned Lady, his most deare and soveraigne Princeesse, *Elizabeth*; being inforced by her Majesties late and singular clemency in pardoning certayne his unductifull misdemeanour." And by the modern Editors, to the late King; as "a Treatise composed by the most extensive and fertile Genius, that ever any age or nation produced."

Here we join issue with the Writers of that excellent, tho' very unequal work, the *Biographia Britannica*:^h if, say they, this piece could be written by our

^h I must however correct a remark in the *Life of Spenser*, which is impotently levelled at the first Criticks of the age. It is observed from the correspondence of *Spenser* and *Gabriel Harvey*, that the Plan of the *Fairy Queen* was laid, and part of it executed in 1580, three years before the *Jerusalem Liberata* was printed: "hence appears the impertinence of all the apologies for his choice of *Ariosto's* manner in preference to *Tasso's*!"

But the fact is not true with respect to *Tasso*. *Manso* and *Niceron* inform us, that his Poem was published, though imperfectly, in 1574; and I myself can assure the Biographer, that I have met with at least six other Editions, preceding his date for it's first publication. I suspect, that *Baillet* is accountable for this mistake: who in the *Jugemens des Savans*, Tom. 3. p. 399. mentions no Edition previous to the 4to. *Venice*, 1583.

It is a question of long standing, whether a part of the

our Poet, it would be absolutely decisive in the dispute about his learning; for many quotations appear in it from the *Greek* and *Latin* Classics.

The concurring circumstances of the *Name*, and the *Misdemeanor*, which is supposed to be the old Story of *Deer-stealing*, seem fairly to challenge our Poet for the Author: but they hesitate. — His claim may appear to be confuted by the date 1581, when *Shakespeare* was only *Seventeen*, and the *long* experience,

Fairy Queen hath been *lost*, or whether the work was left *unfinished*: which may effectually be answered by a single quotation. *William Browne* published some Poems in *Fol.* 1616, under the name of *Britannia's Pastorals*, “esteemed *then*, says *Wood*, to be written in a sublime strain, and for subject *amorous* and *very pleasing*.” — In one of which, *Book 2. Song 1.* he thus speaks of *Spenser*:

“He sung th’ heroicke Knights of Faيري land
In lines so elegant, of such command,
That had the *Thracian* plaid but halfe so well,
He had not left *Eurydice* in hell.
But e’re he ended his melodious Song,
An host of *Angels* flew the clouds among,
And rapt this Swan from his attentive mates,
To make him one of their associates
In heavens faire Quire: where now he sings the praise
Of him that is the *First and Last of Dayes*.”

It appears, that *Browne* was intimate with *Drayton*, *Jonsen*, and *Selden*, by their poems prefixed to his Book: he had therefore good opportunities of being acquainted with the fact abovementioned. Many of his Poems remain in MS. We have in our Library at *Emmanuel* a Masque of his, presented at the Inner Temple, *Jan.* 13. 1614. The subject is the Story of *Ulysses* and *Circe*.

which

which the Writer talks of. — But I will not keep you in suspense: the book was *not* written by *Shakespeare*.

Strype, in his *Annals*, calls the Author *SOME learned Man*, and this gave me the first suspicion. I knew very well, that honest *John* (to use the language of *Sir Thomas Bodley*) did not waste his time with such *baggage books* as *Plays* and *Poems*; yet I must suppose, that he had *heard* of the name of *Shakespeare*. After a while I met with the original Edition. Here in the Title-page, and at the end of the Dedication, appear only the Initials, W. S. Gent. and presently I was informed by *Anthony Wood*, that the book in question was written, not by *William Shakespeare*, but by *William Stafford*, Gentleman: which at once accounted for the *Misdemeanour* in the Dedication. For *Stafford* had been concerned at that time, and was indeed afterward, as *Camden* and the other Annalists inform us, with some of the conspirators against *Elizabeth*; which he properly calls his *unduetifull* behaviour.

I hope by this time, that any One open to conviction may be nearly satisfied; and I will promise to give you on this head very little more trouble.

ⁱ *Fasti*. 2d Edit. V. 1. 208. — It will be seen on turning to the former Edition, that the latter part of the Paragraph belongs to another *Stafford*. — I have since observed, that *Wood* is not the first, who hath given us the true Author of the Pamphlet.

The justly celebrated Mr. *Warton* hath favoured us, in his *Life of Dr. Bathurst*, with some *bearsay* particulars concerning *Shakespeare* from the papers of *Aubrey*, which had been in the hands of *Wood*; and I ought not to suppress them, as the *last* seems to make against my doctrine. They came originally, I find, on consulting the MS. from one Mr. *Beeston*: and I am sure Mr. *Warton*, whom I have the honour to call my Friend, and an Associate in the question, will be in no pain about their credit.

“*William Shakespeare's* Father was a Butcher, — while he was a Boy he exercised his Father's trade, but when he killed a Calf, he would do it in a high stile, and make a speech. This *William* being inclined *naturally* to Poetry and Acting, came to *London*, I guess, about *eighteen*, and was an Actor in one of the Playhouses, and did act *exceedingly well*. He began *early* to make Essays in dramatique Poetry. — The humour of the *Constable* in the *Midsummer Night's Dream* he happen'd to take at *Crendon*^k in *Bucks*. — I

^k It was observed in the former Edition, that this place is not met with in *Spelman's Villare*, or in *Adam's Index*; nor, it might have been added, in the *first* and the *last* performance of this sort, *Speed's Tables*, and *Whalley's Gazetteer*: perhaps, however, it may be meant under the name of *Crandon*; — but the inquiry is of no importance. — It should, I think, be written *Credendon*; tho' better Antiquaries than *Aubrey* have acquiesced in the vulgar corruption.

think,

think, I have been told, that he left near three hundred pounds to a *Sister*. — *He understood Latin pretty well, FOR he had been in his younger yeares a Schoolmaster in the Country.*"

I will be short in my animadversions; and take them in their order.

The account of the *Trade* of the Family is not only contrary to all other Tradition, but, as it may seem, to the instrument from the Herald's office, so frequently reprinted. — *Shakespeare* most certainly went to *London*, and commenced Actor thro' necessity, not natural inclination. — Nor have we any reason to suppose, that he did act *exceedingly well*. *Rowe* tells us from the information of *Betterton*, who was inquisitive into this point, and had very early opportunities of Inquiry from Sir *W. Davenant*, that he was no *extraordinary Actor*; and that the top of his performance was the Ghost in his own *Hamlet*. Yet this *Chef d' Oeuvre* did not please: I will give you an original stroke at it. Dr. *Lodge*, who was for ever pestering the town with Pamphlets, published in the year 1596, *Wits miserie, and the Worlds madnesse, discovering the Devils incarnat of this Age*. 4to. One of these Devils is *Hate-virtue, or Sorrow for another mans good successe*, who, says the Doctor, is "a foule lubber, and looks as pale as the Vi-

fard of the *Ghost*, which cried so miserably at the Theatre, like an Oister-wife, *Hamlet revenge*." Thus you see Mr. *Holt's* supposed *proof*, in the Appendix to the late Edition, that *Hamlet* was written after 1597, or perhaps 1602, will by no means hold good; whatever might be the case of the particular passage on which it is founded.

Nor does it appear, that *Shakespeare* did begin early to make *Essays in Dramatique Poetry*: the *Arraignment of Paris*, 1584, which hath so often been ascribed to him on the credit of *Kirkman* and *Winstanley*,¹ was written by *George Peele*; and *Shakespeare* is not met with, even as an *Assistant*, 'till at least seven years afterward.^m — *Nash* in his Epistle to the Gentlemen Students of both Universities, prefixed to *Greene's Arcadia*, 4to. *black Letter*, recommends his Friend, *Peele*, "as the chiefe supporter of pleasance now living, the *Atlas* of Poetrie, and *primus Verborum artifex*: whose first increase, the *Arraignment of Paris*, might plead to their

¹ These people, who were the *Curls* of the last age, ascribe likewise to our Author those miserable Performances, *Mucidorus*, and the *Merry Devil of Edmonton*.

^m Mr. *Pope* asserts "The troublesome Raigne of King *John*," in 2 parts, 1611, to have been written by *Shakespeare* and *Rowley*: — which Edition is a mere Copy of another in *black Letter*, 1591. But I find his assertion is somewhat to be doubted: for the old Edition hath no name of *Author* at all; and that of 1611, the Initials only, *W. Sh.* in the Title-page.

opinions

Opinions his pregnant dexteritie of wit and manifold varietie of inuention." ⁿ

In the next place, unfortunately, there is neither such a Character as a *Constable* in the *Midsummer*

ⁿ *Peele* seems to have been taken into the patronage of the Earl of *Northumberland* about 1593, to whom he dedicates in that year, "*The Honour of the Garter*, a Poem Gratulatorie — the *Firstling* consecrated to his noble name." — "He was esteemed, says *Anthony Wood*, a most noted Poet, 1579; but when or where he died, I cannot tell, for *so it is*, and always *batb been*, that most Poets die *poor*, and consequently obscurely, and a hard matter it is to trace them to their Graves. *Claruit* 1599." *Atb. Oxon.* Vol. 1. p. 300.

We had lately in a periodical Pamphlet, called, *The Theatrical Review*, a very curious Letter under the name of *George Peele*, to one Master *Henrie Marle*; relative to a dispute between *Shakespeare* and *Alleyne*, which was compromised by *Ben. Jonson*. — "I never longed for thy companie more than last night; we were all verie merrie at the *Globe*, when *Ned Alleyne* did not scruple to affyrme pleasauntly to thy friende *Will*, that he had stolen hys speeche about the excellencie of acting in *Hamlet* hys Tragedye, from conversaytions manifold, whych had passed between them, and opinions gyven by *Alleyne* touchyng that subiecte. *Shakespeare* did not take this talk in good sorte; but *Jonson* did put an end to the stryfe wyth wittielie saying, thys affaire needeth no contention: you stole it from *Ned* no doubt: do not marvel: haue you not seene hym acte tymes out of number? — This is pretended to be printed from the original MS. dated 1600; which agrees well enough with *Wood's Claruit*: but unluckily, *Peele* was dead at least two years before. "As *Anacreon* died by the *Pot*, says *Meres*, so *George Peele* by the *Pox*." *Wit's Treasury*, 1598. p. 286.

Night's

Night's Dream: nor was the three hundred pounds Legacy to a Sister, but a Daughter.

And to close the whole, it is not possible, according to *Aubrey* himself, that *Shakespeare* could have been some years a Schoolmaster in the Country, : on which circumstance only the supposition of his learning is professedly founded. He was not surely very young, when he was employed to kill *Calves*, and he commenced Player about *Eighteen*! — The truth is, that he left his Father, for a Wife, a year sooner; and had at least two Children born at *Stratford* before he retired from thence to *London*. It is therefore sufficiently clear, that poor *Anthony* had too much reason for his character of *Aubrey*: You will find it in his own Account of his Life, published by *Hearne*, which I would earnestly recommend to any Hypochondriack;

“ A pretender to Antiquities, roving, magotie-headed, and sometimes little better than crazed: and being exceedingly credulous, would stuff his many Letters sent to A. W. with *folly* and misinformations.” p. 577.

Thus much for the Learning of *Shakespeare* with respect to the ancient languages: indulge me with an observation or two on his supposed knowledge of the modern ones, and I will promise to release you.

“ It is evident, we have been told, that he was not unacquainted with the *Italian* :” but let us inquire into the *Evidence*.

Certainly

Certainly some *Italian* words and phrases appear in the Works of *Shakespeare*; yet if we had nothing else to observe, their Orthography might lead us to suspect them to be not of the *Writer's* importation. But we can go further, and prove this.

When *Pistol* "cheers up himself with ends of verse," he is only a copy of *Hanniball Gonsaga*, who ranted on yielding himself a Prisoner to an *English* Captain in the *Low Countries*, as you may read in an old Collection of Tales, called *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*,*

"Si Fortuna me tormenta,
Il speranza me contenta."

And Sir *Richard Hawkins*, in his Voyage to the South-Sea, 1593, throws out the same jingling Distich on the loss of his Pinnacle.

"Master Page, fit; good Master Page, fit; *Proface*. What you want in meat, we'll have in drink," says Justice *Shallow's* *Fac totum*, *Davy*, in the 2d Part of *Henry* the 4th.

Proface, Sir *Thomas Hanmer* observes to be *Italian* from *profaccia*, much good may it do you. Mr. *Johnson* rather thinks it a mistake for *perforce*. Sir *Thomas*

* By one *Anthony Copley*, 4to. black Letter, it seems to have had many Editions: perhaps the last was in 1614. — The first piece of this sort, that I have met with, was printed by *T. Berthelet*, tho' not mention'd by *Ames*, called, "Tales, and quicke answeres very mery and pleasant to rede." 4to. no date.

however is right; yet it is no argument for his Author's *Italian* knowledge.

Old *Heywood*, the Epigrammatist, addressed his Readers long before,

“ Readers, reade this thus: for Preface, *Proface*,
Much good do it you, the poore repast here, &c.”

Woorkes. Lond. 4to. 1562.

And *Dekker* in his Play, *If it be not good, the Diuel is in it*, (which is certainly true, for it is full of Devils) makes *Shackle-soule*, in the character of *Friar Rush*, tempt his Brethren with “choice of dishes”

“To which *proface*; with blythe looks sit yee.”

Nor hath it escaped the quibbling manner of the *Water-poet*, in the title of a Poem prefixed to his *Praise of Hempseed*, “A Preamble, Preatrot, Preagallop, Preapace, or Preface; and *Proface*, my Masters, if your Stomacks serve.”

But the Editors are not contented without coining *Italian*. “*Rivo*, says the Drunkard,” is an Expression of the madcap prince of *Wales*; which Sir *Thomas Hanmer* corrects to *Ribi*, *Drink away*, or *again*, as it should rather be translated. Dr. *Warburton* accedes to this; and Mr. *Johnson* hath admitted it into his Text; but with an observation, that *Rivo* might possibly be the cant of *English* Taverns. And so indeed it was: it occurs frequently in *Marston*. Take a quotation from his Comedy of *What you will*; 1607.

“*Musicke*,

LEARNING OF SHAKESPEARE. 81

“ Musicke, Tobacco, Sacke, and Sleepe,

The Tide of Sorrow backward keep :

If thou art sad at others fate,

Rivo, drink deep, give care the mate.”

In *Love's Labour lost*, Boyet calls Don Armado,

——— “ A Spaniard that keeps here in Court,

A Phantasmie, a *Monarcho*.” —

Here too Sir Thomas is willing to palm Italian upon us. We should read, it seems, *Mammuccio*, a Mammet, or Puppet: Ital. *Mammuccia*. But the allusion is to a fantastical Character of the time. — “ Popular applause, says *Meres*, dooth nourish some, neither do they gape after any other thing, but vaine praise and glorie, — as in our age *Peter Shakerlye* of *Paules*, and *MONARCHO* that liued about the Court.” p. 178.

I fancy, you will be satisfied with one more instance.

“ *Baccare*, You are marvellous forward, quoth *Gremio* to *Petruchio* in the *Taming of the Shrew*.

“ But not so forward, says Mr. *Theobald*, as our Editors are indolent. This is a stupid corruption of the press, that none of them have dived into. We must read *Baccalare*, as Mr. *Warburton* acutely observed to me, by which the *Italians* mean, Thou ignorant, presumptuous Man.” — “ Properly indeed, adds Mr. *Heath*, a graduated Scholar, but ironically and sarcastically, a pretender to Scholarship.”

This is admitted by the Editors and Criticks of

L

every

every Denomination. Yet the word is neither wrong, nor *Italian*: it was an old proverbial one, used frequently by *John Heywood*; who hath made, what he pleases to call, *Epigrams* upon it.

Take two of them, such as they are,

“*Backare*, quoth *Mortimer* to his Sow :

Went that Sow *backe* at that bidding trowe you ?”

“*Backare*, quoth *Mortimer* to his sow : se

Mortimers sow speakth as good *latin* as he.”

Howel takes this from *Heywood*, in his *Old Sawes and Adages*: and *Philpot* introduces it into the Proverbs collected by *Camden*.

We have but few observations concerning *Shakespeare's* knowledge of the *Spanish* tongue. Dr. *Grey* indeed is willing to suppose, that the Plot of *Romeo and Juliet* may be borrowed from a COMEDY of *Lopes de Vega*. But the *Spaniard*, who was certainly acquainted with *Bandello*, hath not only changed the Catastrophe, but the names of the Characters. Neither *Romeo* nor *Juliet*; neither *Montague* nor *Capulet* appears in this performance: and how came they to the knowledge of *Shakespeare*? — Nothing is more certain, than that he chiefly followed the Translation by *Painter* from the *French* of *Boisfeu*, and hence arise the Deviations from *Bandello's* original *Italian*. p

It

p It is remarked, that “*Paris*, tho’ in one place called *Earl*, is most commonly stiled the *Countie* in this Play.

Shake-

It seems however from a passage in *Ames's* Typographical Antiquities, that *Painter* was not the only Translator of this popular Story: and it is possible therefore, that *Shakespeare* might have other assistance.

In the Induction to the *Taming of the Shrew*, the Tinker attempts to talk *Spanish*: and consequently the Author himself was acquainted with it,

“*Paucus pallabris, let the World slide, Sessa.*”

But this is a burlesque on *Hieronymo*; the piece of Bombast, that I have mentioned to you before:

Shakespeare seems to have preferred, for some reason or other, the *Italian Conte* to our *Count*:—perhaps he took it from the old *English Novel*, from which he is said to have taken his Plot.”—He certainly did so: *Paris* is there first stiled a young *Earle*, and afterward *Counte*, *Countee*, and *County*; according to the unsettled Orthography of the time.

The word however is frequently met with in other Writers; particularly in *Fairfax*:

“As when a Captaine doth besiege some hold,
Set in a marish or high on a hill,
And trieth waies and wiles a thousand fold,
To bring the piece subjected to his will;
So far'd the Countie with the Pagan bold. &c.”

Godfrey of Bulloigne. Book 7. St. 90.

“*Fairfax*, says Mr. *Hume*, hath translated *Tasso* with an elegance and ease, and at the same time with an exactness, which for that age are surprising. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correspondent line in the translation.” The former part of this character is extremely true; but the latter not quite so. In the Book above-quoted *Tasso* and *Fairfax* do not even agree in the Number of *Stanzas*:

“What new device have they devised, trow?

Pocas pallabras, &c. —

Mr. *Whalley* tells us, “the Author of this piece hath the happiness to be at this time unknown, the remembrance of him having perished with himself:” *Philips* and others ascribe it to one *William Smith*: but I take this opportunity of informing him, that it was written by *Thomas Kyd*; if he will accept the authority of his Contemporary, *Heywood*.

More hath been said concerning *Shakespeare's* acquaintance with the *French* language. In the Play of *Henry the fifth*, we have a whole Scene in it: and in other places it occurs familiarly in the Dialogue.

We may observe in general, that the early Editions have not half the quantity; and every sentence, or rather every word most ridiculously blundered. These, for several reasons, could not possibly be published by the Author; and it is extremely probable, that

Every writer on *Shakespeare* hath expressed his astonishment, that his author was not solicitous to secure his Fame by a correct Edition of his performances. This matter is not understood. When a Poet was connected with a particular Playhouse, he constantly sold his Works to the *Company*, and it was their interest to keep them from a number of Rivals. A favourite Piece, as *Heywood* informs us, only got into print, when it was copied by the ear, “for a double sale would bring on a suspicion of dishonestie.” *Shakespeare* therefore himself published nothing in the *Drama*: when he left the Stage, his copies remained

that the *French* ribaldry was at first inserted by a different hand, as the many additions most certainly were after he had left the Stage. — Indeed, every friend

mained with his Fellow-Managers, *Heminge* and *Condell*; who at their own retirement, about seven years after the death of the Author, gave the world the Edition now known by the name of the *first Folio*; and call the previous publications “ stolne and surreptitious, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious impostors.” But *this* was printed from the Playhouse Copies; which in a series of years had been frequently altered thro’ convenience, caprice, or ignorance. We have a sufficient instance of the liberties taken by the Actors, in an old pamphlet, by *Nash*, called *Lenten Stuffle, with the Prayse of the red Herring*, 4to. 1599. where he assures us, that in a Play of his, called the *Isle of Dogs*, “ *four* acts, without his consent, or the least guesse of his drift or scope, were supplied by the Players.”

This however was not his first quarrel with them. In the Epistle prefixed to *Greene’s Arcadia*, which I have quoted before, *Tom.* hath a lash at some “ vaine glorious Tragedians,” and very plainly at *Shakespeare* in particular; which will serve for an answer to an observation of *Mr. Pope*, that had almost been forgotten: “ It was thought a praise to *Shakespeare*, that he scarce ever blotted a line: — I believe the common opinion of his want of learning proceeded from no better ground. This too might be thought a *praise* by some.” — But hear *Nash*, who was far from *praising*: “ I leaue all these to the mercy of their *Mother-tongue*, that feed on nought but the crums that fall from the *Translator’s* trencher. — That could scarcely *Latinize* their neck verse if they should haue neede, yet *English Seneca* read by Candlelight yeelds many good sentences — hee will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I should say, *Handfuls* of tragicall speeches.”

friend to his memory will not easily believe, that he was acquainted with the Scene between *Catharine* and the *old Gentlewoman*; or surely he would not have admitted such obscenity and nonsense.

Mr. *Hawkins*, in the Appendix to Mr. *Johnson's* Edition, hath an ingenious observation to prove, that *Shakespeare*, supposing the *French* to be his, had very little knowledge of the language.

“Est-il impossible d’eschapper la force de ton *Bras*?” says a *Frenchman*. — “*Bras*, cur?” replies *Pistol*.

— I cannot determine exactly when this *Epistle* was first published; but, I fancy, it will carry the original *Hamlet* somewhat further back than we have hitherto done: and it may be observed, that the oldest Copy now extant is said to be “Enlarged to almost as much againe as it was.” *Gabriel Harvey* printed at the end of the year 1592, “*Four Letters and certaine Sonnetts, especially touching Robert Greene* :” in one of which his *Arcadia* is mentioned. Now *Nash's* *Epistle* must have been previous to these, as *Gabriel* is quoted in it with applause; and the *Four Letters* were the beginning of a quarrel. *Nash* replied, in “Strange newes of the intercepting certaine Letters, and a Convoy of Verses, as they were going privilie to victuall the Low Countries, 1593.” *Harvey* rejoined the same year in “*Pierce's Supererogation, or a new praise of the old Ass*.” And *Nash* again, in “Have with you to *Saffron-walden*, or *Gabriell Harvey's* hunt is up; containing a full answer to the eldest Sonne of the halter-maker. 1596.”

Dr. *Lodge* calls *Nash* our true *English Aretine*: and *John Taylor*, in his *Kicksey Winsay, or a Lerry Come-twang*, even makes an oath “by sweet Satyricke *Nash* his urne.” — He died before 1606, as appears from an old Comedy, called, “The return from *Parnassus*.”

“Almost

“Almost any one knows, that the French word *Bras* is pronounced *Brau*; and what resemblance of sound does this bear to *Brass*?” —

Mr. *Johnson* makes a doubt, whether the pronunciation of the French language may not be changed, since *Shakespeare's* time, “if not, says he, it may be suspected that some other man wrote the *French* scenes:” but this does not appear to be the case, at least in this termination, from the rules of the Grammarians, or the practice of the Poets. I am certain of the former from the *French Alphabet* of *De la Mothe*,^r and the *Orthoepia Gallica* of *John Eliot*; ^s and of the latter from the Rhymes of *Marot*, *Ronsard*, and *Du Bartas*. — Connections of this kind were very common. *Shakespeare* himself assisted *Ben. Jonson* in his *Sejanus*, as it was originally written; and *Fletcher* in his *Two noble Kinsmen*.

But what if the *French* scene were occasionally introduced into every Play on this Subject? and per-

^r *Lond.* 1592. 8vo.

^s *Lond.* 1593. 4to. *Eliot* is almost the only witty Grammarian, that I have had the fortune to meet with. In his Epistle prefatory to the *Gentle Doctors of Gaule*, he cries out for persecution, very like *Jack* in that most poignant of Satires, the *Tale of a Tub*, “I pray you be readie quickly to cauill at my booke, I beseech you heartily calumniate my doings with speede, I request you humbly controll my method as soone as you may, I earnestly entreat you hisse at my inventions, &c.”

haps there were more than one before our Poet's. — In *Pierce Penileffe his Supplication to the Diuell*, 4to. 1592. (which, it seems, from the Epistle to the Printer, was not the first Edition,) the Author, *Nasb*, exclaims, “What a glorious thing it is to have *Henry the fifth* represented on the Stage leading the *French King* prisoner, and forcing both him and the *Dolphin* to sweare fealty!” — And it appears from the Jest of the famous Comedian, *Tarlton*, 4to. 1611. that he had been particularly celebrated in the Part of the *Clown* in *Henry the fifth*; but no such Character exists in the Play of *Shakespeare*. — *Henry the sixth* hath ever been doubted; and a passage in the above-quoted piece of *Nasb* may give us reason to believe, it was previous to our Author. “How would it haue joyed braue *Talbot* (the terror of the *French*) to thinke that after he had lyen two hundred yeare in his Toomb, he should triumph again on the Stage; and haue his bones new embalmed with the teares of ten thousand spectators at least (at seuerall times) who in the Tragedian that represents his person, imagine they behold him fresh bleeding.” — I have no doubt but *Henry the sixth* had the same Author with *Edward the third*, which hath been recovered to the world in Mr. *Capell's Prolusions*.

It hath been observed, that the *Giant of Rabelais*
is

is sometimes alluded to by *Shakespeare*: and in *his* time no translation was extant. — But the Story was in every one's hand.

In a Letter by one *Laneham*, or *Langham*, for the name is written differently, ^t concerning the Entertainment at *Killingworth Castle*, printed 1575, we have a list of the vulgar Romances of the age, "*King Arthurz* book, *Huon of Burdeaus*, *Friar Rous*, *Howleglass*, and *GARGANTUA*. *Meres*^u mentions him as equally hurtful to young minds with the *Four Sons of Aymon*, and the *Seven Champions*. And *John Taylor*

^t It is indeed of no importance, but I suspect the former to be right, as I find it corrupted afterward to *Lanam* and *Lanum*.

^u This Author by a pleasant mistake in some sensible *Conjectures on Shakespeare* lately printed at *Oxford*, is quoted by the name of *Maister*. Perhaps the Title-page was imperfect; it runs thus "*Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury. Being the second part of Wits Common-wealth, By Francis Meres Maister of Artes of both Universities.*"

I am glad out of gratitude to this man, who hath been of frequent service to me, that I am enabled to perfect *Wood's* account of him; from the assistance of our *Master's* very accurate List of Graduates, (which it would do honour to the University to print at the publick expense) and the kind information of a Friend from the Register of his Parish: — He was originally of *Pembroke-Hall*, B. A. in 1587, and M. A. 1591. About 1602 he became Rector of *Wing* in *Rutland*; and died there, 1646, in the 81st year of his Age.

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hath

hath him likewise in his catalogue of *Authors*, prefixed to *Sir Gregory Nonsense*.^x

But to come to a conclusion, I will give you an irrefragable argument, that *Shakespeare* did not understand *two* very common words in the *French* and *Latin* languages.

According to the Articles of agreement between the Conqueror *Henry* and the King of *France*, the latter was to stile the former, (in the corrected *French* of the modern Editions,) "*Nostre tres cher filz Henry Roy d' Angleterre* ; and in *Latin*, *Præclarissimus Filius*, &c." What, says *Dr. Warburton*, is *tres cher* in *French*, *præclarissimus* in *Latin* ! we should read *præcarissimus*. — This appears to be exceedingly true ; but how came the blunder ? it is a typographical one

^x I have quoted many pieces of *John Taylor*, but it was impossible to give their original dates. He may be traced as an Author for more than half a Century. His *Works* were collected in *Folio*, 1630. but many were printed afterward ; I will mention one for the Humour of the Title. "*Drinke and welcome, or the famous History of the most part of Drinckes in use in Greate Britain and Ireland ; with an especial Declaration of the Potency, Vertue, and Operation of our English Ale : with a description of all sorts of Waters, from the Ocean Sea to the Tears of a Woman*. 4to. 1633." — In *Wits Merriment, or Lusty Drollery*, 1656. we have an "*Epitaph on John Taylor, who was born in the City of Glocester, and died in Phoenix Alley, in the 75 yeare of his age ; you may find him, if the worms have not devoured him, in Covent Garden Church-yard*." p. 130. — He died about two years before.

in *Holingshed*, which *Shakespeare* copied; but must indisputably have corrected, had he been acquainted with the languages. — “Our said Father, during his life, shall name, call, and write us in *French* in this maner: *Nostre tres chier filz, Henry Roy d’Engleterre* — and in *Latine* in this maner, *Præclarissimus filius noster.*” Edit 1587. p. 574.

To corroborate this instance, let me observe to you, though it be nothing further to the purpose, that another error of the same kind hath been the source of a mistake in an historical passage of our Author; which hath ridiculously troubled the Criticks.

Richard the third harangues his army before the Battle of *Bosworth*,

“Remember

Some inquiry hath been made for the first Performers of the capital Characters in *Shakespeare*.

We learn, that *Burbage*, the alter *Roscius* of *Camden*, was the original *Richard*, from a passage in the Poems of Bishop *Corbet*; who introduces his Host at *Bosworth* describing the Battle,

“But when he would have said King *Richard* died,
And call’d a *Horse*, a *Horse*, he *Burbage* cried.”

The Play on this subject mentioned by Sir *John Harrington* in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, 1591, and sometimes mistaken for *Shakespeare’s*, was a *Latin* one, written by Dr. *Legge*; and acted at *St. John’s* in our University, some years before 1588, the date of the Copy in the *Museum*. This appears from a better MS. in our Library at *Emmanuel*, with the names of the original Performers.

It is evident from a passage in *Camden’s Annals*, that there was an old Play likewise on the subject of *Richard*

“Remember whom ye are to cope withal,
 A sort of vagabonds, of rascals, runaways —
 And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow
 Long kept in *Britaine* at our *Mother's* cost,
 A milkfop, &c.” —

“Our Mother,” Mr. *Theobald* perceives to be wrong, and *Henry* was somewhere secreted on the *Continent*: he reads therefore, and all the Editors after him,

“Long kept in *Bretagne* at his mother's cost.”

But give me leave to transcribe a few more lines from *Holingshed*, and you will find at once, that *Shakespeare* had been there before me: — “Ye see further, how a companie of traitors, theeves, outlaws and runnagates be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterprife. — And to begin with the erle of Richmond captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh milkfop — brought up by my *Mooother's* meanes and mine, like a captive in a close cage in the court of *Francis* duke of *Britaine*.” p. 756.

Holingshed copies this *verbatim* from his Brother Chronicler *Hall*, Edit. 1548. fol. 54. but his Printer

the second; but I know not in what language. Sir *Gelley Merrick*, who was concerned in the harebrained business of the Earl of *Essex*, and was hanged for it with the ingenious *Cuffe* in 1601, is accused amongst other things, “quod *exoletam* Tragœdiam de tragicâ abdicatione Regis *Ricardi secundi* in publico Theatro coram Conjuratis datâ pecuniâ agi curasset.”

hath

hath given us by accident the word *Mooother* instead of *Brother*; as it is in the Original, and ought to be in *Shakespeare*.²

I hope, my good Friend, you have by this time acquitted our great Poet of all piratical depredations on the Ancients, and are ready to receive my *Conclusion*. — He remembered perhaps enough of his *school-boy* learning to put the *Hig, hag, bog*, into the mouth of Sir *Hugh Evans*; and might pick up in the Writers of the time,³ or the course of his conversation

² I cannot take my leave of *Holingshed* without clearing up a difficulty, which hath puzzled his Biographers. *Nicholson* and other Writers have supposed him a *Clergyman*, *Tanner* goes further, and tells us, that he was educated at *Cambridge*, and actually took the Degree of *M. A.* in 1544. — Yet it appears by his Will, printed by *Hearne*, that at the end of life he was only a *Steward*, or a *Servant* in some capacity or other, to *Thomas Burdett Esq;* of *Bromcote* in *Warwickshire*. — These things *Dr. Campbell* could not reconcile. The truth is, we have no claim to the education of the *Chronicler*: the *M. A.* in 1544, was not *Raphael*, but one *Ottiwell Holingshed*, who was afterward named by the Founder one of the first Fellows of *Trinity College*.

³ *Ascham* in the Epistle prefixed to his *Toxophilus*, 1571, observes of them, that “Manye *Englishe* writers, usinge straunge wordes, as *Lattine*, *Frenche*, and *Italian*, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones, says he, I communed with a man which reasoned the *Englishe* tongue to be enriched and encreased thereby, sayinge: Who will not prayse that feast, where a man shall drincke at a dinner both wyne, ale, and beere? Truly (quoth I) they be
al

versation a familiar phrase or two of *French* or *Italian*: but his *Studies* were most demonstratively confined to *Nature* and *his own Language*.

In the course of this disquisition, you have often smiled at "all such reading, as was never read:" and possibly I may have indulged it too far: but it is the reading necessary for a Comment on *Shakespeare*. Those who apply solely to the Ancients for this purpose, may with equal wisdom study the TALMUD for an Exposition of TRISTRAM SHANDY. Nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the Writers of the time, who are frequently of no other value, can point out his allusions, and ascertain his Phraseology. The Reformers of his Text are for ever equally positive, and equally wrong. The Cant of the Age, a provincial Expression, an obscure Proverb, an obsolete Custom, a Hint at a Person or a Fact no longer remembered, hath continually defeated the best of our *Guessers*: You must not suppose me to speak at random, when I assure you, that from some forgotten book or other, I can demonstrate this to you in many hundred Places; and I almost wish, that I had not been persuaded into a different Employment.

al good, euery one taken by himselfe alone, but if you put Malmesye, and sacke, redde wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you shall make a drinke neither easye to be knowen, nor yet hollsome for the bodye."

Tho'

Tho' I have as much of the *Natale Solum* about me, as any man whatsoever; yet, I own, the *Primrose Path* is still more pleasing than the *Fosse* or the *Watling Street*:

“Age cannot wither it, nor custom stale
It's infinite variety.” —

And when I am fairly rid of the Dust of topographical Antiquity, which hath continued much longer about me than I expected; you may very probably be troubled again with the ever fruitful Subject of SHAKESPEARE and his COMMENTATORS.

F I N I S.



